THE JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

MADRAS

SPECIAL VOLUME DEDICATED TO

H. H. SRI CHANDRASEKHARENDRA SARASVATI

SANKARACHARYA OF KANCHI KAMAKOTI PITHA

EDITED BY

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN

1964-65, 1965-66

VOLS. XXXIV-XXXV

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THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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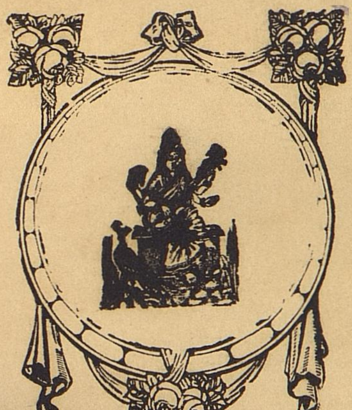

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HIS HOLINESS JAGADGURU ŚRĪ CANDRAŚEKHARENDRA SARASVATI-68TH ŚAṄKARĀCĀRYA OF KĀÑCĪ KĀMAKOṬI PĪṬHA

PREFACE

On 12th June, 1965, the undersigned brought out, on the command of His Holiness Sri Jayendra Sarasvati, the junior Swamigal of Kanci Kamakoti Pitha, a Volume entitled 'The Jagadguru' in honour of the seventy-first *Jayanti* (birthday) of His Holiness Jagadguru Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati, Sankaracharya of Kanci Kamakoti Pitha. The Volume gave a collection of what some of the foreign visitors who had called on His Holiness had written on him and the conversations and discussions they had with him. The interviews and writings of nineteen visitors from abroad ranging over the period from 1931 to the beginning of 1965 figured in that volume.

In 1967, sixty years of the ministry of His Holiness as Sankaracharya of the Kanci Kamakoti Math were completed and his devotees planned several ways of celebrating the event in a fitting manner. Several publications were thought of and in the discussion which H.H. Sri Jayendra Sarasvati was pleased to have with the undersigned, it was considered that it would be appropriate to bring out a Commemoration Volume containing scholarly articles. In view of the possibility of a large volume of material coming in from Indian and foreign scholars, it was resolved to bring out two separate Volumes, one carrying contributions from Indian devotees and another, presenting papers by foreign scholars. The undersigned undertook to do the latter Volume.

Request for contributions to the volume was confined to those foreign scholars who had directly or indirectly some contact with His Holiness. The correspondence and actual collection of the articles took some time. The proposal to bring out this Volume as a Special Number of the *Journal of Oriental Research* met with the approval of those connected with the Journal and the *Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute*. The Institute is housed in the hall bearing the blessed name " Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati Mandapa" after H.H. and in this hall in the Sanskrit College grounds, H.H. had stayed, performed *puja* and meditation and lectured during his sojourns in Madras.

Although the papers had been collected by 1966-67, printing could not be taken up owing to the heavy pressure of work at the Press; the printing had impediments and interruptions which could not be overcome easily. By the blessings of His Holiness

and the grace of Almighty, the Volume has now been completed and we express our thanks to the M. L. J. Press Private Ltd. for their co-operation and help.

As in the case of those who figured in the earlier Volume 'The Jagadguru', the contributors to this Golden Jubilee Volume also are persons who had either met His Holiness and talked to him or have had some contact with him. The undersigned has had the privilege of being with most of them during their visits to or conversations with His Holiness and among the *Kainkaryas* and commands of H.H. which he has had the good fortune to do, he considers the editing of the present Volume in honour of the Golden Jubilee of the pontificate of H.H. at the Kamakoti Pitha of Kanci as a singular blessing.

From the point of view of documentation-value, the undersigned considered it appropriate to add at the end of the Volume a chronicle of His Holiness's life, career, *Vijaya Yatras*, mission and ministry for the preservation and propagation of *Dharma*. For the period ending with March, 1957, he had the invaluable help of the authentic Biography of his Holiness in Tamil entitled "Sri Jagadguru Divya Caritram" written by H.H.'s *purvasrama* brother Sri S. Sambamurti Sastrigal and published by B. G. Paul & Co. on March 2, 1957. For the subsequent years, the undersigned has presented the material from his own personal knowledge, reports in the *Press*, and notes in Journals like the *Kamakoti Pradipa*, supplemented by checkings with fellow-devotees of the Acharya and participants in the many religious and other organisational activities which were especially remarkable during this period. The delay in the printing of this Volume was taken advantage of to bring this *Diary* upto 1972. The thanks of the undersigned are due especially to Sri K. Nilakantan, B. G. Paul & Co. in this regard as well as for the blocks of photographs of His Holiness and of events connected with his life and mission.

May we be fortunate for many years to come to continue to enjoy H.H.'s blessings and elevate ourselves under the benign guidance of one who has been, within our experience, the foremost and most dynamic of the Acharyas of Sankara's lineage, and one of the most powerful personalities of the present times!

V. RAGHAVAN

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NATURE AND FUNCTION OF THE SPIRITUAL MASTER

By

FRITHJOF SCHUON

Switzerland

There is a Vedantic notion which, being fundamental, can serve as a key in the most diverse realms, and this is the ternary *Sat*, *Chit*, *Ānanda:** Being, Consciousness and Bliss. Here it will be applied to the spiritual master, not for any lack of other ways of approaching this subject, but because the Vedantic ternary provides in this connection a particularly appropriate means of access.

The master, in fact, represents and transmits firstly a reality of being (*Sat*), secondly a reality of intelligence or truth (*Chit*), and thirdly a reality of love, union, or happiness (*Ānanda*).

The element "being" which the master represents and transmits, and without which he would be as if deprived of reality and existence, is the religion to which he belongs and by which he is mandated, or the spiritual organization within the framework of this religion. The religion, or the esoteric cell which sums it up and offers us its essence, confers on man the "being" without which there is no concrete and efficacious way. The function of the founders of religion is *a priori* to give back to fallen man his primordial "being" ; the first condition, then, of spirituality is to be virtually "reborn" and thus to realize the source from which spring, as it were ontologically, the two constitutive elements of the way, namely, discernment or doctrine on the one hand, and concentration or method on the other.

Representing *a priori* a "substance" or a "being", *Sat*, the spiritual master is *a posteriori*, and on this very basis, the vehicle of an "intellection" or of a "consciousness", *Chit* : by this is understood a providential doctrine which determines the flavour or style of every subsequent formulation. It is necessary to understand that this doctrine depends on a Revelation in the direct and plenary sense and that consequently its regular ramifications have a quality of absoluteness and infinitude which makes unnecessary any recourse to extraneous sources, although it is perfectly possible that formulations originating in such a source, to the extent that they are mentally compatible with the dogmatic or mythological system in question, may be extrinsically adopted by a given master and integrated into the perspective which he incarnates. Such was the case, notably, of the Neoplatonic concepts adopted by certain Sufis, or of Christianized Aristotelianism. It would be wrong to see syncretism in this, for the extraneous concepts are accepted only because they are

assimilable, and they are only assimilable by reason of their inward concordance with the tradition in question, and because Truth is one. Another aspect of this question of intellectuality is infallibility : the master is in principle infallible with regard to the revealed doctrine which he represents, and which he even personifies by virtue of his "being" or "substance", of his *Sat*, so to say; but this infallibility, which is not unconnected with grace, is conditioned by the equilibrium between knowledge and virtue, or between intellectuality and spirituality—one might even say, between intelligence and humility.

Thus, the spiritual master must realize the ternary "being", "discernment", "concentration". By "being" must be understood the "new substance"[1] or "consecration", or "initiation" : by "discernment" is meant truth which distinguishes between the Real and the illusory, or between *Ātmā* and *Māyā*:[2] and by "concentration" must be understood the method which allows the "initiated" and "consecreted" contemplative to fix himself, at first mentally and later with the centre of his being, on the Real, whose evidence we carry in ourselves. It is this fixation which, being a reality of union, and thus of "love" and of "bliss", corresponds analogically and operatively to the element *Ānanda* in the Vedantic ternary.

The importance in spirituality of what we have called the existential element results from the principle that it is impossible to approach the Absolute, or the Self, without the blessing and the aid of Heaven : "No man cometh to the Father but by Me" (Christianity), and "no one will meet *Allāh* who has not met his Envoy" (Islam) ; "whosoever gathereth not with Me, disperseth", and "without Me you can do nothing" (Christianity) ; "and you cannot wish unless *Allāh* wishes" (Islam). This *conditio sine qua non*, the pivots of which are first and foremost the elements of "consecration" and "orthodoxy"—related respectively to *Sat* and *Chit*—explains why a spirituality deprived of its bases can only end up as a psychological exploit without any relation to the development of our higher states.

The profane man being "inexistent" from the point of view at issue here, the master gives him "spiritual existence" by affiliation or consecration; next he gives him the doctrine—or "intelligence"—, and finally he gives him "life", that is to say, the spiritual means referring to the element "concentration." Now this means, which is an engagement "to the death"—for in order to "live" inwardly, one must "die" outwardly—is essentially a gift from the master and from Heaven, for otherwise it would be lacking in the indispensable Grace. Doubtless there have been very exceptional cases in which other modalities have come into play, but this was always on behalf of persons whose sanctity guaranteed their purity of intention, and protected the spiritual means from any profanation.[3]

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1. "And put on the new man," as St. Paul says.

2. Or between *Nirvāṇa* and *Samsāra*, in Buddhist terms.

3. The germs of sanctity are fear of God and a sense of the sacred, to say the least. It must be recognized that these qualities are totally absent from the general mentality of this sacrosanct "modern age."

In a word : we can only make use of a spiritual means on condition of a concrete and solemn engagement, recognizing thereby that Heaven disposes of us according to its good pleasure ; and this engagement is irreversible—the way is one of no return.

* * * *

Inasmuch as he is the guide of the personal way of the disciple—always within the general way laid down by divine authority through tradition—the spiritual master is as it were the continuation of the *ego* of the disciple. Every spiritual alchemy involves an anticipated death and consequently also certain losses of equilibrium, or periods of obscuration, in which the disciple is not fully master of himself; he is no longer completely of this world, not yet completely of the other, and his experience seems to call in question all the existential categories of which, so to say, we are woven. In these "trials", and in the "temptations" which accompany them—for lower *māyā*, or the downward quality (*tamas*), takes advantage of the slightest fissure—the spiritual master plays the role of " motionless centre " : to the temptation of giving rational form to irrational troubles he opposes objective, immutable and incorruptible truth. The same is true in the case of temptations of inverse character, when the disciple, submerged by some contemplative state which surpasses his usual capacity—and this may only be accidental and does not prove any realization—may think that to some degree he has become superhuman. In this case lower *māyā*—or the devil, which here amounts to the same thing—will not fail to suggest to the disciple that he should declare himself master, or give way to some other pretension of this kind. The case is rather like that of a drunk man who no longer perceives the true proportions of things. The master, for his part, has realized " sober drunkenness", his human substance is adapted to his spiritual state, for mastership is precisely " keeping a cool head"—without any pretension, however—in the beatific experience. All that has been said shows clearly that faith is indispensable on the part of the disciple. Without faith there is no spiritual continuity, and thus no bridging of " hells", nor any possible victory over the *ego*.

In a certain sense, gnosis transcends and abolishes faith, but only when faith is understood as a quasi-moral acceptance of revealed truths, and not as a concrete presentiment of the Inexpressible. Certainly gnosis is a " vision" and not a " thought", but it is so only in a certain regard, for it never abolishes in all respects the veil separating the earthly creature from Pure Being[1]. Understood thus, faith—the *śraddhā* of the Hindu *chela*—is a necessary element of all spiritual unfolding ; of this order too is faith in the master, in so far as he incarnates the knowledge to be attained[2]. Moreover the master, being a living

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1. To think otherwise is to misinterpret certain ellipses in sacred teaching. Doubtless the circle is a perfect adequation with regard to the point—it " is" the centre—but it nevertheless remains different from the latter ; likewise for the radius.

2. Sankara : "My refuge is neither my mother nor my father, nor my children nor my brothers, nor any others. May my supreme refuge be the foot which my *guru* has placed on my head." (*Svātmanirūpaṇa* 146, 148).

man and not a logical demonstration, relates precisely to that element of non-fixation and illimitation which is everywhere present in the cosmos and which is indispensable for the subjective realization of the theoretical fundaments.

What has gone before clearly shows that spiritual mastership is a very special function and that it is consequently false to describe every teaching authority as a "spiritual master". The functions of "doctor" and "master" often coincide—but they may also not do so—in the same personage. The master does not necessarily write treatises, but he always possesses a sufficient doctrinal authority[1].

* * *

It is not the function of the spiritual master to reveal all his knowledge or all the graces which he has received. Here we are up against the whole problem of secrecy and asymmetry[2], or of inward illimitation and the laws of life. On the one hand, a plant has need of an invisible element—its root—and, on the other, it manifests the virtualities of the latter in a way which combines rigour with relaxation, or the determined with the indeterminate; a spiritual teaching does not set out to unveil totally, or to use up totally, the truth which inspires it, nor to give it the implacable and exhaustive form of a mathematical equation. One must not seek to introduce a quasi-absolute element of achievement—and thus of petrifaction and sterility—into the very expression of the truth. It is true that, strictly speaking, this is impossible, but it is nevertheless possible to confer on doctrinal teaching concerning the most intimate aspects of the spiritual life—but not in the case of generalities—a prolixity which is remote from the effective power of assimilation of the recipient. This is what, traditionally, is blamed as a disequilibrium between doctrine and method. In other words, theoretical teaching must not exhaust in advance the acts of awareness which it aims at awakening in the disciple. The latter needs light, but he also needs an element of obscurity which will act as a leaven, in function indeed of the light received and which will help him to release the element of light which he carries in his own substance. Instead of "obscurity" one might say "generative disequilibrium", of which the *koans* of Zen Buddhism doubtless provide the best example.

Verbal demonstrations are certainly indispensable, but the symbol with its power of direct, total and unlimited suggestiveness, and its double function of unveiling (re-vealing) and of veiling, keeps all its rights in the subsequent order of contemplative realization. Mention must also be made of teaching by sign or gesture. Where the spoken word is insufficient, the master "cuts a notch" in the soul of the disciple, he marks it with the red-hot iron of the pure symbol. This sign—which may well coincide with a humiliation—is

1. The case of the saint having the quality of *Pratyeka-Buddha* (*Buddhism*) or of *Fard* (Islam) should be recalled here. He has no spiritual posterity properly so called, but nevertheless acts by his presence.

2. According to an old adage—Chinese, unless mistaken—"he who knows ten must only teach nine." But this law of the secret also concerns the disciple. As a contemporary Hindu master has observed: "The *sādhaka* must not reveal his spiritual experiences except to his *guru* or to a saint."

meant to release in the disciple the necessary awareness and, at the same time, to actualize the corresponding virtue. The essential is not to fall into either extreme: one must neither despise words, which are venerable when they are what they ought to be—otherwise man would not possess the gift of language—nor imagine that one can do everything with them; here, as always, wisdom consists in putting everything in its proper place.

God instructs the collectivity *a priori* by the revealed word, but he instructs the individual *a posteriori* by destiny. This principle is reflected in a particular way in every spiritual method.

Another point which must be made here is the following: granted that the human world is made of abuses, one must not lose sight of the fact that exoterism has a natural right to certain excesses, if one may so express it. That is to say that it is impossible for exoterism to do justice to every nuance without compromising its very existence. The disordered subjectivism of a personal mysticism is usually more false and more harmful than the contrary excess, because phariseeism at least safeguards the keys, and for that very reason never goes quite so far as to kill the spirit.

Nevertheless, as there is no rule without exceptions—in view of a certain aspect of All-Possibility—one must mention the cases, extremely rare in comparison with their opposites, of Kabir, Guru Nanak, and Jakob Boehme. These cases of intrinsic orthodoxy without a traditional framework are explained only by very special circumstances, and possible only—as far as Boehme is concerned—as a result of certain shrinkage in Catholicism from the time of the Renaissance, and—as far as the Indians are concerned—as a result of the juxtaposition, both painful and mystical, of Hinduism and Islam. That is to say that exceptions of this kind are due either to contact between two powerful, ponderous, even tyrannical, religions—whether rightly or wrongly is not the question here[1]—or, as in the case of Boehme, to a sort of stifling of sapiential esoterism within the framework of a traditional civilization which, as it happened, had very recently given rise to a vacuum such as Protestantism. In the present day however there are no longer anywhere in the world powerful and fervent religions dangerously bordering on one another and so giving rise to what may be called "explosions" of bhaktic esoterism, and nowhere does there still exist a powerful religious civilization which is artificially stifling its sapiential esoterism or gnosis, and though there are yet other factors—more personal and more subtle—which occur in the cases cited, they need not be taken into account here. At all events, the present-day world does not and cannot present the circumstances making possible legitimate spiritual exceptions such as those mentioned[2]. In a

1. We must not forget that exoteric ostracism has its rights, the human world being what it is.

2. At most, in the case of the Hindus, there are still a few exceptions of this kind, but which derive from conditions peculiar to Hinduism; these conditions cannot be transferred to non-Hindus lacking the same heredity, to mention only this factor. The same attitude can have a completely different subconcious meaning—and efficacy—on the part of a Hindu and on the part of a European. It should be added that it is almost normal that these facts most often escape Hindus themselves, since they cannot be expected to understand spontaneously all the implications of something that is situated completely outside their traditional universe.

world where the formal framework of the sacred everywhere becomes more and more whittled away, spirituality is more than ever linked to this framework, which is like a last witness to the truth. Spirituality has need, in fact, of a formal or psychological atmosphere of which the modern world is the very negation.

A question not unconnected with the foregoing—since we are talking here of exceptions—is the following: can the function of the spiritual master extend beyond the frontiers of a given religion? This cannot be ruled out categorically, but it is nevertheless a very precarious possibility in view of the high degree of spirituality which it demands on the part of the master, and also in view of the possible difficulty, for him, of assessing facts situated in a traditional world other than his own. Furthermore, in a case such as this, he would act as the vehicle of an "extraneous" *barakah*, and it is precisely this which presupposes a spirituality having effectively transcended the world of forms. It is necessary to stress "effectively", because universalist verbiage is one thing, and realization of the Essence is another. Moreover, in a case of this kind, there must be a sufficient reason of *force majeure*. Such reasons do exist accidentally, as is shown, for example, by the relations between the young Ibrahim ibn Adham and the monk Symeon, a master of gnosis, and also by a passage in "The Russian Pilgrim" which allows that in the absence of a *starets* the seeker may receive instruction "even from a Saracen", with the help of Heaven. Such an encounter is only conceivable if the two parties are in full conformity with their respective traditions, for the Christian must be really Christian and the Moslem really Moslem, however paradoxical this may seem in view of the spiritual commuion that has to be established between them[1]; but if their understanding must be more than a philosophical abstraction, it must nevertheless include the points of departure, which extrinsically and provisionally are separative. This is not because they are separative and exclusive, but because, by their intrinsic veracity, they guarantee a true intuition of unity.

This seeming paradox is comparable to that of our relation with the Infinite. This relation cannot be unitive without first having been separative, or rather, without being separative in its basis and in our individual consciousness, for there is both an order of succession and a parallelism. The most accomplished gnostic, or the perfect *jñānī*, "prostrates himself at the feet of Govinda", which implies a separation. From a more contingent point of view, the station of unity means that the sage has transcended the level of forms, and thus also that of doctrinal formulations—which nevertheless are sacred and always remain valid in their proper dimension—but

1. The situation may appear in a somewhat different form in the case of Hindus and Indian Moslems, for reasons which have been alluded to above. In the present day, however, modernistic influences seriously compromise the advantages of the spiritual climate of India.

this station is independent of the question of knowing whether or not the master is informed about a given religion other than his own. The state of union implies, in this particular connection, not a *de facto* attitude, but a capacity in principle.[1] That is to say that the spiritual master must manifest, taking into account the nature of the difference of levels, both the particularism of form and the unity of spirit. He must conform to holy separation at the base, so as to be able to realize holy union at the summit.[2] One only attains to the latter by perceiving in advance the element of unity in the revealed form itself, and by loving this form for the quality which it receives from the Supraformal. For every sacred form is *Śūnyamūrti*, "Manifestation of the Void".

As the very term "spiritual master" often gives rise to disproportionate and offensive-sounding assimilations, it would be useful to say a few words on the question of hierarchical differences. The misunderstandings concerned, be they serious or slight, are at bottom of the same order as the common error which, analogically speaking, would assimilate the circle to the sphere, on the pretext that both figures are round—a typical error, to be found in the most diverse domains, but above all in history and psychology. In the first place, either we apply the term "spiritual master" to the founders of religion—in which case the term can no longer be applied to the sages who succeed them and who are not prophets in the proper sense of the word—or else it is the sages whom we call "masters"—in which case it would be improper to use the term "spiritual master" in the case of beings such as the founders of religion, or the *Avatāras* of Vishnu[3], because this would be a tautology casting a slur on their supereminent dignity and equating them with their representatives. It might indeed be asked whether the term "master" is appropriate for the greatest of the latter—Christ's Apostles, for example—for the very same reason, *mutatis mutandis*, since their greatness is proved by the fact that they alone were the direct disciples of the "Word made flesh" and that they participate instrumentally in the

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1 The inward and essential knowledge of a theologically exclusive Moslem may be infinitely closer to the Christ-given mysteries, for example, than the mental and sentimental universalism of a profane despiser of "separatist dogmas".

2 "When one has attained (perfect) Love, one must not despise social rules (institutions and rites), but rather conform to them (without attachment to their fruits)." (*Nārada Sūtra*, 62).

3 The *Avatāras* of Vishnu did not found religions, except the Buddha. It should not be lost from sight that Hinduism is like a symbiosis of diverse religions, though this does not mean that it does not of necessity comprise within itself certain fundamental ideas (the *Veda*, the castes, the *Trimūrti*, the cult of the cow) which might be called "dogmas"—this word having for the present author a most venerable meaning—although religious "dogmatism" takes a different form in Hinduism than it does in the Semitic religions, as a result of the "pluridimensionalism" of Hinduism, which readily reduces anti-nomial aspects to their unique essence and can consequently tolerate the juxtaposition of the most seemingly contradictory formulas. The exclusion of Jainism and Buddhism proves that Hinduism is not an amorphous mass which will absorb anything.

Revelation.[1] This distinction is entirely legitimate in this connection, but there are also reasons which allow one to disregard it, as we shall see later.

In comparing a Benedictine master—of the fifteenth century, for example—with St. Benedict, and then comparing the latter with St. John, we obtain a sufficiently clear picture of the principal degrees, not of spiritual mastership in itself, but of its manifestation in breadth for it is important not to confuse an almost cosmic function with inward knowledge. Certainly the most eminent saint or sage, by his traditional position, is always in possession of the "greater" or the "whole", but the less eminent does not necessarily represent a "lesser" as far as his inward reality is concerned, although, even on this level, there may be relations of "dimension" or "breadth" to be taken into account in favour of the most glorious figures on the traditional "iconostasis". This factor is of especial importance when the figure concerned incarnates a non-supreme mode of spirituality—for example, the cases of *Rāmānuja* and Confucius, the latter, incidentally, being greater than the former—so that one might be tempted to place these eminent figures below a *jnānī* of lesser dimensions. This would be an optical illusion, especially in the case of the Chinese Revealer, whose inward reality necessarily—and immensely—transcended the role which was assigned to him by Providence.

Be that as it may, it should not be too difficult to understand or to feel that, from the point of view of cosmic breadth, theurgic power, and the capacity to save, even a Sankara is not the equal of Krishna, and that from an analogous point of view, no later master can be the equal of Sankara; no *roshi* can replace Bodhidharma, any more than the latter can be equated with the Buddha. Nevertheless, in comparison with the worldly and the profane, and with regard to them, every true master is altogether close, not only to the great instructors of "apostolic" rank, but even to the founding *Avatāra*, and this is a compensatory truth which lets us better appreciate the cult of the master in India and elsewhere[2]. The cosmic breadth of the *Avatāra* and of his direct prolongations obviously presupposes spiritual perfection, but inversely, this perfection does not imply the cosmic rank of the very greatest whence the inegalities already referred to.

Doubtless it is not always possible, or, for that matter, necessary, to avoid every ambiguity, for example to settle the question as to whether there is a real difference between the "apostolic" degree—for example, that of a Nāgārjuna—and certain later, but particularly eminent manifestations, such as Padma Sambhava in Tibet and Kōbo Daishi in Japan, who are, so to

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1. On the one hand, St. John is not Christ, and, on the other, no Christian mystic could equate himself with the author of the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse. The relation between the Prophet, his son-in-law Ali, and the sufis is an analogous one.

2. This cult, however, loses all its meaning, when it is accompanied by the error just mentioned. One may well believe that a given master possesses an inward knowledge which equates him mysteriously with Rama or with the *Rishis*, for example, but one gains nothing, and compromises everything, in imagining that he is better than they.

say, central reverberations of the Spiritual Sun in a new world.[1] On the other hand, it is always possible and even necessary in the other cases to take account of the evidence of the facts and of traditional opinion, out of respect for the irreplaceable majesty of the divine manifestations[2].

But these considerations must not cause us to lose from sight the compensatory truth just mentioned, namely, that every spiritual master is mysteriously assimilated, by his knowledge and his function and by the graces attaching to them, to his prototypes and—both through them and independently of them—to the primordial Prototype, the founding *Avatāra*. On the level of this synthesis, it could even be added that there is but one sole Master, and that the various human supports are like emanations from him, comparable to the rays of the sun which communicate one self-same light and are nothing apart from it.

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1. St. Francis of Assisi and St. Bernard are similar cases, the first having been adopted directly by Christ, and the second by the Virgin.

2. One of the worst of abuses is the pretention of making a "psychological" analysis of an *Avatāra*, basing oneself on deeds and gestures, when in fact one is in the presence of an order of greatness which totally eludes profane investigation. Let us note here that Rāmakrishna often used the term *Avatāra* in a wide sense, including all avataric modes—"total", "partial", "major" and "minor"—and in this he is not culpable, firstly because in his teaching he clearly defines the transcendent nature of the "Man-God", and also because he himself was effectively situated in the "Divine Ray".

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KĀRṢṆĀJINI AND KĀŚAKṚTSNA

HAJIME NAKAMURA

Tokyo

After the ancient Upaniṣads of the early period came into existence, the school line which follows them as sacred canon continued on without interruption in an unbroken line. Accordingly, there must also have been a great number of scholars who advocated special doctrines among them, but, in the extremely ancient period, the individual names as well as the thought of these schools have practically been not passed down. Generally classifying the early Vedānta schools, we can divide them into those prior to and those posterior to the compilation of the *Brahma-sūtra* and in relation to the period prior to the *Brahma-sutra*, since no literature at all of the Vedānta school itself has been handed down, it may be said that the thought of the individual scholars then is, for the most part, not clear. However, throughout the literature in other areas, we are able to learn in general the tendency of thought of the Vedānta school during this period. We are able to consider the tendency in thought which we learn from literary sources, but even to know the names and thought of the individual scholars is almost completely impossible. In the *Brahma-sūtra* the fundamental scripture of this school, some of the names of the early scholars have been noted, and not only has their thought been discussed and criticized, but their names have been referred to also in works of other areas ; thus in the following, we shall take up the examination of the character and thought of two scholars.

SECTION I. KĀRṢṆĀJINI

In the *Brahma-sūtra* (III. 1. 9), it says :

"If it be said that corresponding to whatever conduct (*caraṇa*) (in this world), (one is variously born in the womb), it is not so.

(The word *caraṇa* in this sacred verse) refers indirectly (to the residual karma). So said Kārṣṇājini". And this distinction has been set forth in the following sacred verse :

"Therefore, the man who performs good conduct (*caraṇa*) in this world may aspire to be able to be born in a good womb, *i.e.*, that of a Brahmin, or that of a Kṣatriya, or that of a Vaiśya. But the one who performs defiled conduct in this world, can expect to be born into a defiled womb, *i.e.* that of a dog, a pig, or a Caṇḍāla (a type of lowly people)." (*Chānd. Up.* V. 10. 7). In this verse, however, it is taught the man who performs good and beautiful conduct in this world, after he dies, will be born again as a member of one of the three upper classes, while the man who performs ugly and evil conduct will be born again as a very low and mean person or as an animal, but just what relationship this verse has with the teaching of

the fivê fires (*pañcāgni vidyā*) taught in the verse immediately preceding it, was discussed among the theologians of that time. The "Teaching of Five Fires" is so called because it says that human beings go to the world of the moon after death, and from there fall down and are reborn upon the earth, dividing the process into five stages, which, under the pretext of being names for ceremonies and rituals, are called "fires". On this question, a certain theologian has interpreted this sacred verse literally (according to the three commentaries[1] on this *sūtra*), and has understood that the wherefore of the conditions at the time of rebirth into this world, is based upon the wherefore of the good and evil conduct at the time when one was active in the previous world, and was thought that that is all there is to it. However that may be, Kārṣṇājini, so as to apply to the teaching of the five fires, interpreted this verse in the following manner. According to him, the word "conduct" (*caraṇa*) of the verse should not be understood in the literal meaning of "behavior" but refers obliquely to the "residual action" (*anuśaya*).[2]

That is to say, according to the teaching of the Five Fires, man after death proceeds to the world of the moon, accompanied by his action (*karman*) and after he has received his rewards and punishment there, again returns down to the earth and is born again, while in the world of the moon, he does not exhaustively receive the rewards and punishment of his karma and there nullify all karma, as there is still a small amount of karma remaining. Then, it is said that the individual selves accompanied by their remaining karmas, return to enter this world, and are born into the various conditions, in accordance with whatever remaining karma they have.

By the way, such an interpretation has the following difficulty—If one hold that in accordance with whatever remaining karma one has, when he descends from the world of the moon, the individual self is born in varying conditions, even the person who had performed good conduct previously in this world, since it would not be limited to that when he is reborn, must not necessarily be born into a good environment; in that case, the precepts (ethical principles, *ācāra*) of behavior taught in the Brāhmanic canon would be meaningless. Against such a criticism, it has been handed down (in the *Brahma-sūtra* III. 1. 10) that he answered: "Because of the fact that one can come into existence by dependence (upon the correct execution of the rituals), it is not (meaningless)". That is to say, karma, which is the motive force directly which can cause a person to be born into a good environment or a good position, consequently, "the remaining karma", while being based on the wherefore of actual performance of the rituals in the present world directly, because these rituals bring out effects, the correct performance of conduct in general is necessary. The man who does not perform correct conduct, cannot obtain good rewards, even if he carries out the rituals; so

1. On the question of the interpretative reading of the *Brahmasūtra* which follows, I have referred to the three ancient commentaries of Śaṅkara, Bhāskara and Rāmānuja.

2. According to Bhāskara, "action" (*Karman*).

it is said. Accordingly, Kārṣṇājini had embraced the same thought as the verse which says "The Vedas do not purify the man who does not perform correct conduct" (*Vasiṣṭha-smṛti*, VI-3).[1] Then at the same time, we can know that he had thought that the rituals are the most important essentials for human life, and that the other ethical precepts amount to no more than a supplemental significance to be appended to the rituals.

Since Kārṣṇājini has been referred to in the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra* (IV. 3. 17, VI. 7. 35) in addition, he was also a scholar of the ritual Mīmāṃsā. And as a scholar of the rituals, his words have also been quoted in the *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra*.[2] Even seen from the *Brahma-sūtra*, since Kārṣṇājini was a man who had regarded as very valuable the rituals, there may be no objection if all of these are thought to be one and the same person. In that case, since he was a man prior to the formulation of the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, and as he belongs to the period in which the various ritual sūtras were being worked on and produced, he must naturally be thought to be prior to the 4th century A.D. But, to clarify in more detail the dates of his life, is a difficult proposition in the present circumstances.

SECTION 2 KĀŚAKṚTSNA

Theories of Kāśakṛtsna are quoted in the *Brahma-sūtra* (I. 4.22).

To wit, according to the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, the philosopher Yājñavalkya is said to teach his wife Maitreyī in the following manner:

" .'Verily, not for the sake of the husband[3] is the husband dear, but the husband is dear for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of the wife is the wife dear, but the wife is dear for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of the sons are the sons dear, but the sons are dear for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of wealth is wealth dear, but wealth is dear for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of brahminhood is brahminhood dear, but brahminhood is dear for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of kṣatriyahood is kṣatriyahood dear, but kṣatriyahood is dear for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of the worlds are the worlds dear but the worlds are dear for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of the gods are the gods dear, but the gods are dear for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of living beings are living beings dear, but living beings are dear for the sake of the Self. Verily, not for the sake of all is all dear, but all is dear for the sake of the Self. Verily,..it is the Self alone that should be seen, heard, reflected on and meditated upon." (*Bṛhad. Up.* II. 4·5; cf. IV 5·6.)

Is the ātman (self) expounded here one body or does it have only an individual existence in the individual self, or should one say that there is a great self, a supreme self? These questions had been discussed among Vedānta

1. Based upon the *Brahmasūtra* III. 1. 10, it is quoted by all three commentaries.
2. A. Weber: A History of Indian Literature p. 140. Further, his name also appears in Pāṇini's Grammar, *Gaṇapāṭha* '*upaka*', under II. 4. 69.
3. *Patyuḥ kāmāya*. This probably could be understood as "because of the husband" or "for the sake of the husband." Other phrases also should be interpreted in the same light.

scholars from quite ancient times, but in the *Brahma-sūtra* (I. 4. 19 ff) it has been determined that this ātman is not an individual self but the supreme self. By the way, in the passage above, the word "ātman" at the first glance is explained as though it meant the existence of an individual human being, but why is that? On this question, differences of opinion arose between the three schools of Āśmarathya, Auḍulomi, and Kāśakṛtsna. The *Brahma-sūtra* (I. 4-22) only states:

Avasthiter iti kāśakṛtsnaḥ.

(Because it exists, so says Kāśakṛtsna.)

And for the passages in the three Commentaries on this, let us note their interpretations:

"Because this supreme self exists also by means of its state as the consciousness self (individual self), it is possible to begin the expostulation in this way on the passages (of the conversation with Maitreyī) by such a non-difference (between the supreme self and individual self." (Śaṅkara)

asyaiva paramātmano'nenāpi vijñānātmabhāvenāvasthānād upapannamidam abhedenopakramaṇam.

"(The relation between the highest self and the individual self) is not the relation between the primordial substance and the evolved. Nor does the individual self, which is absolutely separate and different, enter distinctionless (in the highest self) in the state of liberation. But the highest self, even prior to its liberation from the body (*i.e.* before dying), exists as an aspect of the individual self, and therefore by the non-difference (of the highest self and the individual self), we begin to teach (the passage of the conversation with Maitreyī)." (Bhāskara)

na prakṛtivikārābhāvo nāpy atyantabhinnasya jīvasya muktyavasthāyāṁ abhedāpattiḥ, kiṃ tarhy utkramaṇāt prāg api jīvarūpeṇa paramātmano 'vasthānād abhedenopakrama iti.

"Because (The Brahman) exists as the ātman within the individual self which is his own body, we instruct on the Brahman by means of the word indicating the individual self." (Rāmānuja)

svaśarīrabhūte jīvātmany ātmatayāvasthite jīvaśabdena brahmapratipādanam.

Since these three ancient commentaries thus give their own different interpretations, we are at a loss to decide which to adopt, but by other crtiteria we can, I think, ascertain the original meaning of the sūtra.

First of all, since this passage in the *Brahma-sūtra*, lists the theory of Kāśakṛtsna after relating those of the other two scholars (Āśmarathya and Auḍulomi), his is the fixed theory (siddhānta) and, we can conclude, was adopted by the author of the *Sūtra*. Throughout the entire work of the *Brahma-sūtra*, whenever it lists different theories, it is a definite rule to relate

the fixed theory last,[1] and, in this case, that the theory of Kāśakṛtsna is the established theory is also acknowledged by the three ancient commentaries.[2]

Hereupon, the thought of the *Brahma-sūtra*, which will be discussed on another occasion is the theory of "non-identity, non-difference" in so far as the relation of the Brahman and ātman is concerned, and since this is accepted in general by present day scholars, Kāśakṛtsna also, who had been conformed to by the sūtra-author, must have adopted the "non-identity, non-difference" theory in the same way.[3] Moreover, the word *avasthiti* is used in this Sūtra, and we see in other examples of usages[4] in the *Brahma-sūtra* that this word is employed in the sense that 'it exists conditioned temporally and spacially.'[5] Accordingly, in this case, the supreme self, who transcends temporal and spacial limitations, assumes the form of the individual self, and appears in the experiential world,—this is called *avasthiti*. Accordingly, the individual self is not completely identical with the supreme self, but is one part of it. In the passages above of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, the teaching which seems at a glance to point to the individual self, is precisely for this purpose, so Kāśakṛtsna has asserted.

An account which can ascertain such a conclusion is to be found in the sub-commentary by Vācaspati-mirśa on the *Brahma-sūtra*.

We see in it that in the sub-commentary[6] on *BS*. I. 4·22, after relating the general views of the Śaṅkara School that Kāśakṛtsna adopted the theory of non-duality, says, as a rejection of the assertion of *those other men who follow the theories of Kāśakṛtsna*, the following:

Ye tu Kāśakṛtsnīyam eva matam āsthāya jīvam paramātmano'mśam ācakṣus, teṣāṃ kathaṃ niṣkalaṃ niṣkriyaṃ śāntam iti na śrutivirodhah.

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1. Śaṅkara, in his commentary, has sometimes opposed this rule, but in those cases, his interpretation is mistaken. E.g., see the commentary on *Brahma sūtra-bhāṣya* IV. 3-7 ff.

2. Cf. Hajime Nakamura: Early History of the Vedānta (in Japanese) Part IV. Chap. 3, Sect. 4, I (p. 446 ff.).

3. Thibaut (*Intro*. p. XIX) originally held that Kāśakṛtsna embraced the theory of non-difference (i.e., Nondualistic monism), based upon the sub-commentaries on Śaṅkara's commentary (ad BS. I. 4.22): since then, this assertion has been admitted by Indologists in general, but the supposition is not correct. Insofar as the theory of Kāśakṛtsna in the sūtra is said to be an fixed doctrine (*siddhānta*), Śaṅkara and his commentators stressed that Kāśakṛtsna's theory was nondualiatic monism, in order to combine it with their own theory.

4. I. 2.17; I. 3.22; II. 2.4; II. 2.13; II. 2.36; II. 3.24; III. 3.32.

5. Thibaut, Introduction and P. C. Guha, Jīvātman, p. 189 hold that this "avasthiti" means "permanent abiding or permanent abode within something," but this interpretation relies too heavily upon Rāmānuja's views. No other example agrees with this usage.

6. Bhāmatī, p. 337.

"But, for these (scholars) who, based upon the theory of Kāśakṛtsna, teach that the individual self is a part of the supreme self, (if we compare this to what is said in the *Śvet. Up.* VI.16, that 'it is without parts, without activity, tranquil,' would there not arise a contradiction between (their thought and) revelational scripture?" Hereupon, according to the sub-commentary *Vedāntakalpataru* (a work by Amalānanda), it says that by "the men who follow the theories of Kāśakṛtsna" is meant 'the theory of Bhāskara'[1]. On the other hand, we find in the commentary of Bhāskara on BS.I.4.22[2], after he logically refutes the theory of the *māyāvādin*, the assertion:

"The presiding deity is different (from the individual self). The individual self, which transmigrates through existences, is a part (of the presiding deity). This fact must by all means be admitted." *tasmād anya īśvaras, tad-aṃśo jīvaḥ saṃsārīti balād abhyupeyam.*

Therefore it would correspond nicely to the account mentioned before. Accordingly, not only has Bhāskara himself admitted in this way that his thought is based upon the theory of Kāśakṛtsna, but such an impartial scholar as Vācaspati-miśra has also acknowledged this fact.

Thus, from our considerations above, we are able to form the following conclusions :

1. Kāśakṛtsna has firmly maintained the assertion that the relation between the supreme self and individual self is one of "non-identity and non-difference", and that the individual self is either a part of the supreme self or is a constituitive element of it (*aṁśa*). This idea is also clearly asserted in BS.II.3.43.

2. The thought of Kāśakṛtsna, after being adopted by the *Brahma-sūtra*, was again inherited and developed by Bhāskara. Then, the historical and ideological connection between these thinkers had been believed in with considerable force in one section of the academic world of the period around the 13th century during which time Amalānanda had lived.

Furthermore, Kāśakṛtsna had been regarded as the advocator of the established doctrine of the Vedānta school by all the members of that school even in later centuries. The Vallabha school, for example, also attributed the theory in BS. III. 2.29, which discusses the relation of the individual self and the supreme self, to Kāśkṛtsna[3].

In the foregoing, we have examined some aspects of Kāśakṛtsna as one of the Vedānta scholars, but he was also a grammarian. (As a grammarian, his name has generally been handed down as Kāśakṛtsni.)

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1. "*Bhāskarasya matam anūdya dūṣayati— ye tvityādinā*"—*Kalpataru*, p. 223 (Viz. SS).

2. This corresponds to I. 4·21 in Bhāskara's *Bhāṣya*.

3. Belvalkar; *Lectures*, p. 167.

In the Mahābhāṣya, a work of the grammarian Patañjali (c. 150 B.C.), Kāśakṛtsni, as a grammarian, is frequently referred to, and the Mīmāṃsā which he taught is called the Kāśakṛtsnī, and it is recorded that men who study his work are called "pupils of Kāśakṛtsni" (*Kāśakṛtsnāḥ*).[1] Again, his study of grammar has also been called Kāśakṛtsna.[2] And in the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari, it is said that:

"The sūtra which says '*tadarham*' (Pāṇini, V.1.117), is not handed down in any other work on grammar." (*tadarham iti nārabdham sūtram vyākaraṇāntare*)—Vākyap.III.14.566 (p.714).

And concerning this, Helārāja has noted that "Neither the students of Āpiśali nor those of Kāśakṛtsni had read and passed on this Sūtra."[3]

Consequently, Kāśakṛtsni, like Pāṇini and Āpiśali, was an editor of the sūtra related to grammar, and his work differed from the extant Pāṇinīyan grammar, and, we can know, had been handed down up to the time of Bhartṛhari.

As this work has not been transmitted to the present time, its contents, system, etc. are not clear, but according to the records of the later grammatical works, Kāśakṛtsni's book consists of several sūtras which are composed of three chapters (*adhyāya*).[4]

On certain kinds of problems, this work includes rules which differ from the grammar of Pāṇini. Grammarian students of later centuries have also noticed this fact.[5] Then again, it is known that his work has some points in common with that of Āpiśali.[6]

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1. *Kāśakṛtsninā proktā mīmāṁsā Kāśakṛtsnī, tām adhīte Kāśakṛtsnī brāhmaṇīti*, (*Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, pp. 206, 249, 325.) His name also appears in Pāṇini's Grammar *Gaṇapāṭha* "*Upaka*".

2. *Pāṇininā proktam. Pāṇinīyam/Āpiśalam/Kāśakṛtsnam iti*/(*Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I. p. 12). *Pāṇinīyam akālakaṃ vyākaraṇam / Kāśakṛtsnam / Gurulāghavam / Āpiśalam duṣkaraṇam/Kāśikā* ad IV.3.115) *anyena kṛtā Māthureṇa proktā Māthuri vṛttiḥ/Pāṇinīyam/Āpiśalam/Kāśakṛtsnam/Kāśikā* ad IV. 3.301). These materials are from Kshitish Chandra Chatterjee, "*Kāśakṛtsna*", IHQ. Vol. VIII, 1932, pp. 224-227).

3. *Āpiśalāḥ Kāśakṛtsnās ca sūtram etan nādhīyate.*

4. *aṣṭakaṃ Pāṇinīyaṃ sūtram/tadadhīyate vidanti vā/aṣṭakāḥ Pāṇinīyāḥ/trikāḥ Kāśakṛtsnāḥ/*(*Candravṛtti* III. 1·42). *Pāṇinīyam aṣṭakaṃ sūtram, tad adhīyate aṣṭakāḥ/Pāṇinīyāḥ/daśakāḥ/, Vaiyāghrapadīyāḥ/trikāḥ, Kāśakṛtsnāḥ* (*Kāśikā* IV. 2.65). *Āpiśalapāṇinīyāḥ. Pāṇinīyarauḍhīyāḥ/Rauḍhīyakāśakṛtsnāḥ/* (*Kāśikā*, VI. 2.36). These are from Chatterjee, *ibid*. See also *Kāśikā* ad V. 1,58; Belvalkar : Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, P. 10.

5. Patañjali, in his commentary on Pāṇini's Grammar II. 1-50, says: *kim punar dvigusaṃjñā pratyayottarapadayorbhavati*. On this Kaiyaṭa has noted as follows: *Kāśakṛtsnasya "Pratyayottarapadayor" iti sūtram tad vicārayati Pāṇinīyaṃ tu paścād vicārayati*. Again, Kṣīrasvāmin, in *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī* (II. 60, S. 114) says that the past passive participle of the root *śvas* according to the Kāśakṛtsna school is not *śvasita*, but must be *śvasta*. *Kāśakṛtsnā asya* (i. e. the root *śvas*) *niṣṭhāyām aniṭtvam āhuḥ, āśvastaḥ, viśvastaḥ*/And in the *Mādhavīya-Dhātuvṛtti* also, concerning the root *śvas*, it is said *niṣṭhāyām iṭam necchanti Kāśakṛtsnā iti Svāmi-Kāśyapau*. (According to Chatterjee, *ibid*).

6. *Āpiśala-Kāśakṛtsnyos tv agrantha iti vacanād anyatra pratiṣedhābhāvaḥ*.—Kaiyaṭa ad V. I. 21.

The dates of Kāśakṛtsni's life are not clear, but there is no doubt that he lived prior to Patañjali. And according to the Vārttika of Kātyāyana, as it has referred to the rules of Kāśakṛtsni's grammar,[1] he should be prior to Kātyāyana. Again, since there are many instances in which he is mentioned together with Āpiśali, it would not appear that he lived in a period too far distant from that of Āpiśali. Āpiśali, according to an account (VI.1.92) by Pāṇini himself, was one of the predecessors of Pāṇini but Kāśakṛtsni can be taken to be later than Panini.[2] In which case we may conclude that he probably lived somewhere around 350 to 250 B.C.

Furthermore, Kāśakṛtsni, as already mentioned, is said in an account by Patañjali to have also been a Mīmāmsā scholar.[3] As if to confirm this, there had been handed down in a work of the later Vedānta school of limited nondualism[4] the legend that Kāśakṛtsna was the author of the Saṃkarṣa-Kāṇḍa. However, just as the legend that Jaimini is the author of the *Mīmāṃsā sūtra* and the *Saṃkarṣa-Kāṇḍa* has not handed down the the true facts, this too might amount to no more than a mere legend. That is, it would appear that since the famous name of Kāśakṛtsna as a scholar had been transmitted up until later centuries, there may have originated such a legend spontaneously.

Further, a doubt arises as to whether Kāśakṛtsni and Kāśakṛtsna are not perhaps different people, but insofar as the names of both men greatly resemble each other, and as the learning of Kāśakṛtsni[5] has been called Kāśakṛtsnam,[6]

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1. *dvigusaṃjñā pratyayottarapadayoś ced itaretarāśrayatvād aprasiddhiḥ.* (Kātyāyana, ad II. 1.51, Vol. I, p. 392) Cf. note 5, p. 17

2. Chatterjee, *ibid.*, asserts this on the basis of the passage in Kāśikā on VI. 2-36. Kāśakṛtsna is mentioned in the *upakādayaḥ, arīhaṇādayaḥ* in *Gaṇapāṭha*, of Pāṇini's grammar but this will not demonstrate that he was earlier than Paṇini.

3. However, further investigation is necessary to determine what the mīmāmsā in Patañjali had meant.

4. In the work *Tattvavārttika* on the Śrībhāṣya, the following verse is recorded as a quotation from the Tattvaratnākara:

Karmadevatā-brahmagocarā sā tridhodbabhau sūtrakārataḥ| Jaiminer muneḥ Kāśakṛtsnato Bādarāyaṇād ity ataḥ kramāt||

This differs from the traditional theory. On this Vedāntadeśika, in his work Adhikaraṇasārāvali, has explained as follows:

Vṛttigranthe tu Jaiminyuparacitatayā ṣoḍaśādhyāy upāttā, Saṃkarṣaḥ Kāśakṛtsnaprabhava iti kathaṃ Tattvaratnākaroktiḥ|atra brūmaḥ—saduktau na vayam iha mudhā bādhituṃ kiṁcidarhā|nirvāhas tūpacārāt kvacid iha ghaṭate hy ekatātparyayogaḥ||

On such a difference related to the problem of the author, Śeṣagovinda, who wrote the commentary on the *Sarvasiddhāntasaṃgraha*, has explained that the *Devatākāṇḍa*, said to be a work by Jaimini, and the work said to be by Kāśakṛtsna are different works. No affirmative grounds exist which might permit this interpretation. (These sources come, however, from Chatterjee, *ibid*, and S. Kuppuswami Sastri and P.P. Subrahmanya Sastri: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, Vol. XXVII, 1937. Introd., pp. III-VII).

5, 6. This coincides exactly with the case of the learning of Āpiśali being called *Āpiśala*. *E.g.*, *Āpiśalam adhīte* (*Vārttika* 3 ad Pāṇini IV. 1-14); *Āpiśala-Pāṇinīya-Gautamīyāḥ* (*Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. III, p. 125).

and his students are called Kāśaktṛsnāḥ, I think that perhaps later grammatical schools,[1] the Mīmāmsā school as well as the Vedānta school, have referred to Kāśakṛtsni as Kāśakṛtsna. Moreover, both the grammatical school and the two Mīmāmsās have an intimate connection as the two important types of the orthodox brahmanical scholarship from ancient times; the same author has, in many instances, studied both branches of learning, so that it would appear that there is ample reason to believe both persons as one and the same.

Again, Kāśakṛtsna seems to have also been both a Veda scholar and a scholar of the rituals. The name of Kāśakṛtsna as a Vedic scholar is mentioned together with that of Yāska[2] in a work by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara-miśra,[3] and his name is said to appear also in Bodhāyana's *Gṛhya Sūtra.*[4] Again, the name of a scholar Kāśakṛtsni[5] has also been given in the Śrauta Sūtra of Kātyāyana, but in the same sūtra, it also refers to a theory by Bādari and that by Kārṣṇājini, both being scholars of the ancient Vedānta school. Even in later centuries, since there were many men who were thoroughly versed in the Vedas and in the rituals in general, and who wrote partial explanatory works on them we can judge from these facts that there should be no objection to think that either Kāśakṛtsni or Kāśakṛtsna as a ritual scholar was the same person who had the same name as handed down as the scholar of grammar, the Mīmāmsā and the Vedānta. In actuality, then, he being chiefly a scholar of the rituals, probably also studied the various other branches of learning.

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1 In the *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī*, written by Kṣīrasvāmin, and in the *Kavikalpadruma*, by Vopadeva, Kāśakṛtsna is listed as the name of a grammarian. (Aufrecht, CC. I, p. 103; Aufrecht, Bodl. Cat. p. 175 b.)

2 He was a scholar thoroughly versed in the Black Yajur Veda.

3 A. Weber: AIL., pp. 42, 91.

4 S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, p. 433.

5 A. Weber: HIL., pp. 139, 140. Indische Studien XIII, S. 398, 418.

TRADITIONAL VALUE SYSTEMS, MODERN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN SOUTH ASIA: SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

Milton Singer,
Chicago

Some recent discussions of the relation of science and technology to traditional values in South Asia recall the earlier pre-World War II writings of John Dewey in the U.S.A., Bertrand Russell in England, and the Vienna Circle on the Continent. There are in these recent discussions distinct echoes of that earlier bright faith in the unity of all science, as a method, an outlook, a body of knowledge, and a habit of mind; there is the same Comtean view of human history as a progressive, cumulative triumph of positive science over religion and metaphysics; the same naive optimism that the elimination of "traditional" superstitions and "irrational" customs in the wake of a scientific "reformation" and "renaissance" will usher in a millennium of peace, prosperity, social justice and human welfare.

One misses in these discussions of science and technology the acute sense of intellectual and moral ambiguity that has become so prominent in the post-World War II writings on science of Russell, Popper, M. Polanyi, Oppenheimer or N. Wiener, not to mention the "anti-utopias" of Aldous Huxley, George Orwell and others. It will be argued that such doubts and anxieties about science are justified in the scientifically advanced countries but it is a luxury which the underdeveloped countries cannot afford. With their economies based on ever-expanding scientific technologies, their birth and death rates reduced by modern medicine to a minimum, their life expectancies now in the 70's, the majority of their populations living in cities, well-educated, well-fed, clothed, and well-housed, so the argument goes, the U.S.A. and the countries of Western Europe can well afford to worry about the problems of scientific and technical affluence—traffic congestion, pollution of air and water, automation, surpluses of agricultural commodities and atomic bombs; and on the positive side, to press for beauty on the highways, and a liberal education for overspecialized agricultural economists, engineers, business administrators and nuclear physicists.

For the less developed countries, where only tiny minorities are in contact with modern science and technology, such problems seem remote and irrelevant and are not likely to become pressing, so the argument continues, for another 150 to 200 years, when the industrial and scientific development of the West has been recapitulated in the East.

We grant that the gap between the rich and the poor countries is still very great, and it may take some time for it to be closed. But the

recapitulation theory is contradicted by some obvious facts, the most important of which is that the latest and most sophisticated developments in science and technology of the advanced countries become immediately available in an international pool upon which the less advanced countries can draw. Atomic installations, Boeing 707's, M.I.G.'s and French Caravalles, I.B.M. computers, hybrid corn, linear programming of assembly line production, antibiotics and television, *e.g.*, can all be found in India today. And wedding gifts at village marriages include transistor radios, wristwatches and sewing machines. Whether it is wise to "leap-frog" over the intermediate stages of industrial and scientific development, and whether this selective borrowing can become more than a symbolic token of modernization, remains to be seen. But there can be no doubt that this leap-frog development is feasible and is popular in many countries. As it occurs it generates many of the same problems familiar to the West: population explosions as modern medicine and sanitation bring down the death rates before they lower the birth rates, unemployment and overproduction as capital intensive, mass production technology is applied to labor intensive fields, congestion and pollution from unplanned industrial concentration, obsolescence from over-specialized scientific and technical training, threats of nuclear war from unbridled nationalism. While the scientific and technical affluence of the West may still be a good many years away in South Asia, it is not premature to give thought to the direction and social consequences of rapid technical change. Gandhi's worries about the evils of mass industrialization may yet become as relevant to the next 20 years, rather than 200, in South Asia as Nehru's optimistic faith in science and socialism.

Research on these problems must take its point of departure from the polarization between modernists who are committed to extending science and technology as rapidly as possible, and the traditionalists who are committed to preserving traditional values and social institutions in the form of religious beliefs and practices, the joint family, the caste system, the village community. Such research need not accept as valid, however, the basic postulates which are shared by some modernists and traditionalists, namely, that the existence of the traditional value systems is incompatible with the existence of modern science and technology, that there is an intense struggle going on for dominance between them, that this struggle is not only overtly social and cultural but psychological as well, a "schism in the soul" as Toynbee calls it, and that the victory of one side will automatically result in the disappearance of the other.

These postulates will not be confirmed, I venture to predict, by careful observational studies. They are based rather on ideological preconceptions which lead to a misreading of the most obvious evidence against them. Consider, as an example of this misreading, Kusum Nair's report of how a modern doctor contends with tribal superstitions in N.E.F.A.:

"It is the doctor, of course, who has to contend most with tribal superstition and to compete with the local medicine man and priest. People here

attribute disease to hostile spirits, or ghosts of the dead or to the breach of some taboo, and therefore expect that its cure also must lie in spiritual measures known only to the tribal priest and the medicine man.

"I have often to tempt children with sugar cubes and their elders with bidis and by drinking their beer with them," the doctor says with a smile. In a conspiratorial whisper he adds: "My wife still does not know that I 'drink'." She has remained behind in his home town where their children are going to school. "But what to do—This is the only way I can win their confidence."

The doctor has to tour his entire area on foot. He may have to walk as much as 12 to 14 miles in a day over this mountainous terrain.

"When there is a birth, you know, no outsider can even enter the village and no one from outside the family circle can go inside the house. But now, sometimes, if the case is difficult, they call me in. Normally I let them observe their own rites as well—of sacrificing a chicken and reading the omens from its liver and so on, so that they may feel happy and reassured. Yes, they are very, very superstitious. They have different kinds of charms to drive away the various spirits of disease. The slightest..."

"Tell me, Doctor, what are you wearing on your arm?"

"Oh, this," he stammers and fumbles under the short sleeve of his white shirt, where, tied to black threads, are three small copper containers. "These... oh these... they are charms."

A qualified doctor of modern medicine, he is wearing three amulets on his right arm and two more round his waist, he informs me. "They are meant to provide protection against danger and to counteract unfavourable planetary influences of Mars, Saturn and so on. My wife insists that I wear them."

Now Mrs. Nair is much too intelligent and wise an observer to draw conclusions from this incident. Yet to the western reader, and perhaps to western-educated Indians as well, it will be taken as yet another example of the strength of "traditional" beliefs and practices in obstructing the progress of modern science. It will recall to the western reader the many other examples he has seen or heard of, the astonishing, to him, miscegenation of the traditional and the modern—the aviation engineer working in an ashram, the directors of a very modern corporation who schedule board meetings to fit an astrologer's reckoning of auspicious times, the temple that uses neon lights to spell out ancient symbols and mantras, the religious pilgrim who makes his pilgrimage by plane, the *puja* corner in the shop of a modern factory.

Instead of seeing these as examples of the coexistence and mutual adaptation of the modern and the traditional, the western observer whether modernist or traditionalist, sees them as paradoxical happenings

that should not occur. Since it is precisely the nature and processes of such adaptations that need to be studied for the positive guidance they may give to future developments, it is of some importance to make explicit the preconceptions which lead us to regard them as abnormal occurrences.

One of the strongest and most pervasive of these preconceptions is the belief that traditional value systems are without positive practical functions, that they survive only by force of irrational and sentimental reasons compelling enough to override the obvious negative practical consequences of the value systems. So no single traditional belief, *e.g.*, is as likely to arouse charges of "economic irrationality" as the Hindu's belief in the sacredness of the cow and in the associated doctrine of non-injury to all forms of life (*ahimsā*). Specialists in agriculture are especially fond of citing statistics to show the enormous amounts of foodgrains consumed by cows and rodents. One of these specialists, a professor from an American university, is quoted in a recent news dispatch from India:

"How do you teach pest control to people who worship all animal life and who think that no one should kill crows or rats? A crow will eat its own weight—a half pound—in grain every day.

"Some estimates suggest that pests on Indian farms consume more than the 850,000 tons of grain that American ships carry to India each month to sustain human life.

"How do you create a poultry project when the young Indian student who has been trained in college refuses to eat eggs himself because eggs are a form of life? In this case, he was persuaded that there is a difference between fertile and infertile eggs.

"How do you persuade a man that he can improve his lot, when he keeps saying, 'It is written, I shall always be a poor man and my children shall be collectors of dung...' Here is the caste system at work. Indian fatalism has been a deadly foe."*

Such stark confrontations of scientific rationality with "the sacred cow" are not based on scientific observations and studies. The cow in India is also a very important source of fuel, draught power, milk and dairy products, hides, and even beef. It is certainly an open question whether the fodder consumed by any group of cows is economic or uneconomic.

Investigation will probably show that the productivity of unhealthy cows will be increased by increasing their fodder and improving their conditions of life, a program entirely consistent with the anti-cow slaughter campaign.

As for the doctrine of *ahimsā* being a barrier to poultry projects, the destruction of rodents, and improving agriculture, perhaps this too is highly exaggerated. The student *was* persuaded about the difference between

* Chicago Daily News, Saturday, April 23, 1966.

fertile and infertile eggs. Many imaginative projects such as that started by Albert Mayer at Etawah have shown that farmers can be persuaded to adopt agricultural practices which seem at first sight to violate the *ahimsā* doctrine.*

The farmer who asked an American hunter to shoot some crows in his corn field was perhaps not untypical when to the American's shocked comment: "But I thought you believe that all life is sacred," he replied, "Yes I do, but you don't."

Some agricultural specialists, it is encouraging to note, are no longer blaming the problems of traditional agriculture on the irrationality, blind conservatism and fatalism of the peasant farmer, but are turning their attention instead to the more important factors of the farmer's incentives, his margins of safety for experimentation, his level of education and skill, and to the availability of resources, market credit and facilities at his command.

One agricultural economist has recently suggested that the over-specialized training of the American agricultural college graduate, which has neglected these factors, may be one of the major reasons for the poor showing of the crash programs for agricultural improvement launched by these graduates.†

The same newspaper dispatch, which we mentioned earlier, quotes another of the American agricultural experts in this more modest vein:

"I think all of us in the beginning approached the Indian agricultural problem naively. Most of us thought we'd go right in and solve it in a few years. We should have remembered that building an agricultural technology takes time.

"We look at their maize (corn) yields of 10 to 15 bushels an acre and know that Illinois farmers get 100 to 125 bushels per acre. We forget how tough it was for the first country agents in America to get farmers to change methods, and how long it took to rebuild the soil after the methods were adopted.

"We forget that before hybrid seed corn was developed—only 30 years ago—yields in Illinois were 20 to 30 bushels per acre."

An approach to agricultural improvement which treats the farmer as a rational agent who is trying to do the best he can under conditions imposed by a complex and delicately balanced network of social and natural constraints is also consistent with recent thinking in social and cultural anthro-

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*A. Mayer and associates, in collaboration with M. Marriot and R. Park, *Pilot Project, India*, Berkeley: University of Colifornia Press, 1958, pp. 209-210.

†T. W. Schultz, "Education and Reaserch in Rural Development in Latin America" Conference on the Potentials of the Hot Humid Tropics in Latin American Rura Development, Cornell University; and see also his work, *Transforming Traditional Agriculture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964.

pology. The older evolutionary doctrine, regarding practically all cultural traditions and customs as "survivals" from earlier stages of development, which have become useless, has been replaced by a "functionalist" point of view which sees all aspects of culture and social structure as functionally interrelated, dynamically active, and adaptively responsive to changing conditions in the environment. This approach can be applied to a study of the "cultural ecology" of the sacred cow in India*, as well as to other aspects of the relation of traditional value systems to modern science and technology. It is an approach that is free not only from the preconception that traditional value systems lack positive practical functions, but also from the closely associated preconception that traditional value systems do not undergo adaptive change in response to changing conditions—that they simply persist or die out.

In the countries of South Asia, where many contemporary beliefs and practices are traced to the ancient scriptures and traditions of Buddhism, Hinduism or Islam, the no-change theory seems quite plausible. The oral transmission of the Vedic corpus, for example, over a two-thousand year period must certainly remain an astonishing and impressive achievement. Yet, no scholar will deny that there is in each of these traditions a rich and changing accumulation of commentary which reinterprets tradition, separating the essentials from the non-essentials, to make it more appropriate to the conditions of modern life. Many Hindus today, *e.g.*, appeal to the *Bhagavat Gita* as a source and sanction for their beliefs and practices. Yet it is often the *Gita* as reinterpreted by a Tilak or a Gandhi that is appealed to and not necessarily the *Gita* of Sankara or of a modern Sanskrit scholar. Among leading industrialists I recently studied in Madras City, I found several citing the *Gita's* doctrine that every householder should perform his *dharma* without desire for the fruits, as a justification for dedication to industrial careers. Usually their interpretation of the *Gita* echoed Gandhi's, namely, that every age calls for its own special form of sacrifice. One of the industrialists, a leather manufacturer who also buys and tans hides, an occupation that was traditionally associated with untouchables and non-Hindus, gave Gandhi's reading of the *Gita* and his example of starting a tannery at Sevagram as the source of his own inspiration. In all other respects, this industrialist and his family were devout caste Hindus.

Perhaps it is ironic that industrialists should find religious and moral sanctions in Gandhi, who was opposed to industrialization. Yet Gandhi's teachings of the dignity of labor as an appropriate form of sacrifice in this modern age, and of self-reliance, truth, non-violence, and compassion for the poor and lowly, have an obvious application to modern industry.

Most of the Madras industrial leaders did subscribe to these values. And the Hindus among them, who predominated, assimilated them to what they regarded as the "essential tenets of Hinduism," along with belief

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*Harris, M. "The Cultural Ecology of India's Sacred Cattle," *Current Anth.* Feb. 1966. For a complementary culture-historical study see W. N. Brown, "The Sanctity of the Cow in Hinduism," *J. of Madras University.* Vol. 28 (1957).

in rebirth, *karma*, asceticism, the *yuga* cycles, the Hindu pantheon, the joint family, the caste system and many ritual practices. Far from inhibiting the growth of an ethic of industrial work and of service, as Max Weber thought, these tenets, and associated practices and institutions, have encouraged these Hindu industrialists "to prize the rational transformation of the world in accordance with matter-of-fact considerations and to undertake such a transformation as an *act of obedience to a Divine will*."* These men, in any case, are sending their sons, nephews, sons-in-law to M.I.T. and other universities to study engineering, chemistry, and business administration.

The common preconception that a belief in *karma*, *dharma*, rebirth, *yuga* cycles, etc. produces a passive fatalism, other-worldliness, and lack of achievement drive, springs, it seems to me, from two fallacies: the concentration on cases of failure, and a form of the *post hoc, propter hoc* fallacy. When a farmer, artisan or businessman, who has failed says he has failed because of his *karma*, it seems plausible enough to say that he has failed because he is fatalistic. But suppose those who succeed also say they have succeeded because of their *karma* can we then say that they have succeeded because they are fatalistic?

Most of the Madras industrial leaders did explain their success in terms of their respective *dharma* and *karma* and God's will. But they did not exclude from this explanation the necessity for hard work, active effort, foresight and knowledge, intelligent planning, etc., whether they thought these factors as an intrinsic part of their *karma* or as extrinsic. As one of them put it: "Without God's will nothing can move, but if you think God is going to give you everything on a platter, you are a fool."

A belief in the *karma* doctrine, in other words, is quite compatible with the belief that "One's ego is always there, always claiming that it has done this, it has done that." Weber himself noted that the moral determinism of the *karma* doctrine leads logically to the belief that one is master of his fate, at least in the next birth, but does not seem to have drawn the relevant psychological conclusions. Norman Brown has pointed out that there is a philosophical school of Hindu theology which holds that an individual can by individual effort influence his fate even in this life.†

One of the most widespread responses to the personal conflicts between religion and industry is to redefine the "essentials of Hinduism." Again and again, industrial leaders would describe their neglect of ritual observances and other changes in their ways of life, only to conclude that they were still good Hindus because they believe completely in "the essential tenets of Hinduism." They did not all agree precisely on what these tenets are or give them exactly the same interpretation, as we have seen, but

*Weber, *Religions of India*: p. 326 Also, Milton Singer, Review of Weber, *Amer. Anthropologist*, 1961. "Religion and Social Change in India, The Weber Thesis, Phase 3, Econ. Develop, and Cult. Change," July, 1966.

†"Escaping One's Fate: A Hindu Paradox and Its Use as a Psychic Motive in Hindu Fiction," in *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, 1920.

the range of beliefs and the general trend of reinterpretation were remarkably similar: Industrial leadership they see as a moral duty (a *dharma*) that needs to be urgently discharged in the present age, even if it means sacrificing some traditional obligations. Their own success in such a career they see as a combined outcome of their past actions, or *karma*, God's grace or God's will, and their own effort, intelligence and luck. While not quite all see in this success an essential road to their final liberation (*moksha*) from the cycles of rebirth (*samsāra*), most do see it as one of the roads they must take; and they enjoy travelling it. Although industry may be only a tiny "corridor" in the cycles of the ages (*yugas*) and illusory (*māyā*) from the point of view of ultimate reality, it is nonetheless an unavoidable present, progressively changing reality, with a greater potential for improving human welfare than agriculture had. They have no strong disposition to renounce it for the career of an other-wordly ascetic. They are in fact inclined to look upon their dedicated and concentrated industrial activities as a kind of this-worldly asceticism, especially as taxes go up and the conditions of industrial enterprise become increasingly obstacle-ridden. For most of them, the dominant secular motivations for industrial leadership are not money or social status, but the pleasures of matching their wits against the many obstacles and challenges of creating needed products and jobs for the country.

For these industrial leaders, the "essential tenets" of their religion have a durability and generality that will survive the many changes brought by industry. Even if the doctrines of *karma* and *samsāra* have been used in the past to explain and justify the inequalities of the caste system, these doctrines will not lose their relevance with the passing of the caste system, for there will be other inequalities to explain and to justify. Perhaps the most striking example of the adaptability of the "essential tenets" is the way in which most of the industrial leaders have been formulating and trying to follow a code of ethical conduct for industry. Composed of both traditional and modern ethical precepts, such a code is seen as a natural extension of traditional religious ethical principles to a new sphere of conduct. Precision tools and "quality control" may be new, but the obligation to give accurate weights and measures is very old.

The scriptural and intellectual sources upon which the industrial leaders have drawn for their foundations and reinterpretations of the "essential tenets" vary with their community, education, individual talents and spiritual advisers. It is interesting, however, that apart from some differences in detail, the Syrian Christians, the Muslims and the Hindus have come out with a very similar industrial code and set of beliefs. The main difference among the Hindus is that between those who have been influenced by Gandhi's reinterpretation of the *Gita* and other scriptures and those who are influenced by more traditional Gurus and teachers.

Among the more traditional kinds of interpreters of Hinduism there are two heads of Śankara (*advaita vedanta*) maṭhs, one at Kanchi (Conjeeveram)

and one at Sringeri, who are quite influential with the industrial leaders, particularly the Brahmins. Both of these *Sankaracharyas* have supported the industrial leaders in their beliefs that they are performing their *dharmas* in producing industrial products and jobs and even in making money. The idea that one can be a good industrialist and at the same time a good Hindu, even a good Brahmin, has their endorsement. But the Sankaracharyas are not quite as indulgent of lapses from ritual observances as are the leaders themselves; they have a somewhat different view of the "essentials of Hinduism". One of them said that what is distinctive and essential to Hinduism is its "sociological foundation," not its credal superstructure. By "sociological foundation" he said he meant the set of family disciplines regarding birth, food, marriage, death, etc., which avoid pollution and transmit the proper way of life from generation to generation. Traditionally, Brahmin families had the duty to cultivate these disciplines to the highest degree. In recent times, however, under the pressure of economic changes and necessities, he finds many Brahmin families have relaxed these disciplines and had exposed themselves and him to dangers of pollution. Under these circumstances, he thought it would be necessary to rely more on devout non-Brahmins to maintain the family disciplines. Without such a "sociological foundation," he felt, Hinduism will disappear as a distinctive religion, since its theological and philosophical tenets are not very different from those of other world religions.

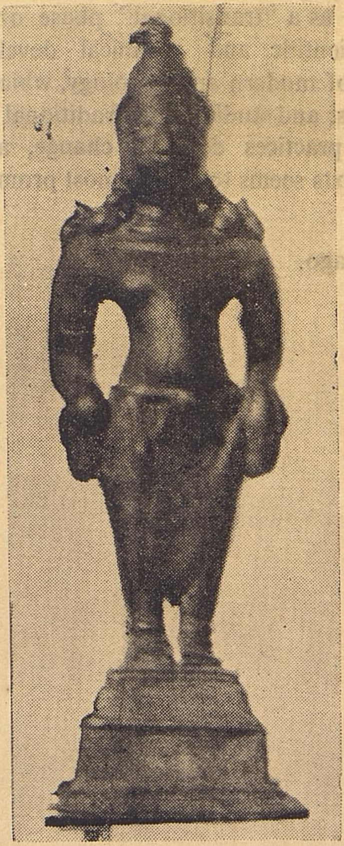
Although in their insistence on strict ritual observances, the Sankaracharyas seem far more orthodox than the industrial leaders, they do encourage and support many intercaste and intersect movements. These leaders in turn support the Sankaracharyas and try to meet their demands through a vicarious ritualization that leaves them free to follow their industrial careers. In this manner, and by redefining the "essentials" of Hinduism and extending its tenets to industry, they have been able to "modernize" Hinduism without "desanskritization" or at least without losing their cultural identity as Indians. For them the "essentials of Hinduism" consist more in a set of tenets and a code of ethical conduct than in a set of ritual observances. In this sense, the effect of industry is changing the traditional conception of the "essentials of Hinduism" as an orthopraxis combined with heterodoxy, a conception still held by the Sankaracharyas, for example, into an orthodoxy combined with a heteropraxis.

It would be interesting to know whether such factors as hard work, effort, intelligence, knowledge and foresight are also included in the explanations given by those who fail, in addition to the appeals to *dharma*, *karma*, and God's will. My impression is that they are, although there is very little research bearing on these problems. Those who fail and those who succeed are not in their explanations trying to describe the necessary and sufficient conditions of their success or failure; they are, rather, offering to themselves and others an explanation after the fact which they find intellectually satisfying and culturally available. One very intelligent and

well-educated industrialist said that even after the caste system has disappeared, he would still believe in the doctrines of *karma* and rebirth, because he finds these the best available explanations of the difference in fortunes between different individuals.

There is an urgent need for research on the relations of traditional value systems to modern science and technology, but such research will not be realistic or fruitful so long as it is based on the postulates and preconceptions which give an appearance of abnormality and paradox to the coexistence and mutual adaptation of the modern and the traditional, or at best regard such coexistence as a "transitional" phase on the road to a recapitulation of Western scientific and technical development. A functional approach, in the sense of modern anthropology, which abandons these postulates and preconceptions, and studies how traditional value systems, as well as scientific values and practices develop, change, and function in concrete social and cultural contexts seems to me the most promising path for research to follow.

University of Chicago.



PĀṆḌARAṄGA - PĀṆḌURAṄGA

JEAN FILLIOZAT
Paris and Pondichery

L. Finot, already in 1903, collected all the documents then available on an ancient kingdom in South-Vietnam, called in the ancient inscriptions as *Pāṇḍaraṅga* or *Pāṇḍurāṅga.* The location of the country was on the Eastern coast of the Indochinese peninsula, between the 11th and 12th parallels. The modern name of the country was *Phanrang*, as pronounced by the Vietnamese ruling people. It was limited to the South by a cape named as *Padarang*. It was formerly a part, sometime autonomous, sometime integrated, of the Campā kingdom and remained a home of the Cam people surviving the Vietnamese conquest in the middle of the 17th century. In modern Cam language the name is *Panraṅ*. According to the Cam royal chronicle, *Pandaraṅ* has been the name of the royal palace and was still the denomination of its former place.[1]

The country has been first referred to in the Chinese documents in the 10th century. Later Chinese texts have considered the kingdom as Buddhist and even identified it with Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha in the biographies of the Buddha. These identifications of an Indochinese region with two well known sites of India are impossible[2], but the attribution of the Buddhist religion to Pāṇḍuraṅga may be right, as we shall see, but not for all the time.

According to the clear testimony of the local inscriptions in Sanskrit and old Cam language, the prevalent religion there was actually Śaivite.

The first dated inscription in which appears the name of Pāṇḍuraṅga has been published by Bergaigne in 1893[3]. The date is 739 Śaka (817 AD). The inscription has been found at Ponagar, a place in the old Campāpura. It refers to a son of the King Harivarman, Vikrāntavarman, to whom the king had given the government of *Śrīpāṇḍuraṅgapura.* It is Śaivite, as it refers to the making of an image of Bhagavatī and to the building of towers (prāsāda) for a Ṣaṇḍhakaliṅga, for Vināyaka and for Śrīmaladākuṭhāra. Vikrāntavarman himself, in 776 Śaka, then being king, has given a *kṣetra* to Vikrāntarudreśvara[4], *i.e.* to Śiva as his own Lord.

Another inscription from the same region[5] has been composed by a Buddhist sthavira, Buddhanirvāṇa by name. This is an evidence of the

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1 L. Finot, *Notes d'epigraphie* v. *Panduranga*, BEFEO, 1903, p. 630-648. Followed by P. Pelliot, *Textes chinois sur Panduranga*, BEFEO, 1903, pp. 649-654.

2 On these identifications see J. Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa*, Paris, 1963, pp. 13-14.

3 *Inscriptions sanskrites de Campa*, pp. 263-270.

4 *Inscriptions sanskrites de Campa*, pp. 231-237

5 Ditto, pp. 237-241 (wrongly named Yang Kur inscription, correct name: Bakul inscription).

practice of the Buddhist religion side by side with the Śaivite one. The inscription gives even an evidence of some kind of association between Śaivism and Buddhism at least in the minds of some peoples. The first two verses run as follows:

विक्रान्तेश्वरलोकौ यौ तयोर्गुपौ(प्तौ) स नायकः ।
समन्तः प्रथितो नाम्ना तस्य पुण्यमिदं मतम् ॥
विहारौ देवकुले द्वौ द्वे जिनशङ्करयोस्तयोः ।
पूजनार्थं प्रकुरुते ताङ्गतिं प्रगतश्शुभाम् ॥

"Of these two worlds of Vikrānta and Īśvara, he was the chief in their guard, Samanta, famous by name. This is considered as his merit.

He, who has gone to the good destination, makes for the sake of homage two monasteries, two temples of the Jina and of Śaṅkara."

The next stanza enumerates donations of lands to the Jina. It is followed by a concluding one in which Buddhanirvāṇa indicates he is the son of Samanta as well as the author of the stanzas, designating them as "*kāvya*". So this Buddhist monk accomplished the wish of his father to make pious foundations for both Śaivite and Buddhist religions. As Vikrānta is not a designation of the Buddha or the Jina but was in those days and in this country a designation of the Lord of the king Vikrāntavarman, it has been supposed by Barth the deceased Samanta has been a minister of the king, having served him in this world when he was living and still serving him identified to Śiva in the celestial world. If so, Samanta would have been only Śaivite, but he may have been desirous to encourage any religion, specially the Buddhist one (where, in the Mahāyānic form Avalokiteśvara is Lokeśvara like Śiva) and his son turned Buddhist monk: hence the double foundations and the grant of lands to the Jina. In the Cam part of the inscription we have also a donation to the "Mount Mandara" and to Praṇaveśvara.

The connection between the Mahāyānic and Śaivite religions is also evidenced by another inscription (Binh Dinh, Kim-chau pagoda) referring to foundations for Liṅgalokeśvara, *i.e.* Śiva, as well as for Jinalokeśvara, Saugatadeveśvara etc..[1]

But the Śaivite religion was prevalent at Pāṇḍuraṅga and in the neighbouring countries. According to the inscriptions listed by Finot[2] the foundations, donations or dedications were done successively for Bhadrādhipatīśvara, Indraparameśvara, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Vikrāntarudreśvara, Praṇaveśvara (these two already named), one liṅga, Jayahariliṅgeśvara, Svayamutpanna, Campeśvara, again Svayamutpanna three times. We meet also the name Jayasiṃhavarmaliṅgeśvara for a *mukhaliṅga* established between 1220 and 1230 Śaka.[3]

1 Cf. Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa*, p. 336.
2 BEFEO, 1903, pp. 633-636.
3 Ditto, p. 642.

THE MYSTERY OF SACRED ARCHITECTURE

By
ALICE BONER
of France, Varanasi

Although it is well-known that a fundamental difference exists between sacred and secular architecture, it is not always realized, that the difference is not simply one of form, but that it involves their deepest essence. Both can be works of art. But since their respective "raison d'etre" lie in opposite directions and cover needs far apart from one another, they cannot be measured by a common standard. Secular architecture responds to practical requirements, and therefore a beautiful form, harmonious proportions, a perfect balance of weights and stresses, and a judicious use of materials can be sufficient to class it as a work of art. Sacred architecture has no practical purpose, but has a spiritual mission to fulfill and therefore functional adequacy and beauty of form go only part of the way, and do not exhaust its most essential requirements.

As the abode and custodian of a divine Entity, of a sacred Presence, this architecture has a transcendent dimension, which governs the whole fabric, creates its forms and determines its structure. This dimension is dictated by cosmic laws, the same law that are at the base of human existence and of human consciousness. The reverence for these divine cosmic laws, and the knowledge about the dependence upon them of human life were the natural foundations of all ancient civilizations. Sacred buildings were always made to symbolize the structure of the universe with the differentiation and gradual ascent of all planes of existence from the lowest to the Supreme. They contained a divine essence and were the centre, the support, around which the life of the community revolved, from birth to death. There never were any people, of whatever creed or religion, who did not place their sacred shrines in the centre of their settlements and did not make it larger, more durable and more ornate than any other buildings.

In India it is not unusual to see magnificent temples covered with exquisite sculptures standing in the midst of the poorest villages. The temples are built of solid stone, meant to last for centuries, while the houses of the population are made of friable material like brick and mud, and have to be rebuilt in almost every generation. There may have been better houses once upon a time, but even those have long perished, while the temples have withstood the centuries. There is no apparent relationship between the temple and the houses; they seem to belong to different stages of civilization, to different worlds. And that they actually do because there is no common measure between the sacred and the profane.

Even in Europe, where the material discrepancy between secular and sacred architecture is not so marked, churches and cathedrals are always

towering head and shoulders above the general level of the house-roofs. They always occupy the central place around which the town or village grows, and the particular character of their architectural lines, of their sculptural or pictorial decoration bears no relationship to the rest of the houses. Here also the sacred buildings have clearly a different paternity and a different dimension than all secular buildings. There were laws in the Middle Ages, which determined to what height in relation to the cathedrals private house could be built. A clear distinction between the spheres of the sacred and the profane was then alive, and there could not subsist any doubt as to which was more vital and important. It is only to our modern technical civilization that the honour has been reserved to build business houses, shooting up sky-high and overshadowing any pre-existing sacred building. This certainly is symptomatic of the complete reversal of all human values that has taken place in our times. The aspects of our modern towns give a clear indication, that where once spiritual aspirations prevailed, now only material pursuits are governing the pattern of life.

But this is not all : Together with the aspirations, also the true knowledge of spiritual transcendent values seems to have been lost. If we are to judge by the results, when an attempt is made in modern times to build a new church or temple, one cannot but feel that, whether ancient forms are copied or new ones invented, their level of reference is the same as that of any profane structure. The essentials, the imponderables which distinguish a sacred from a profane building are inexistent. It becomes clear, that in spite of best intentions the spirit has been lost, and not the spirit alone which moved the ancient builders, but the science, the knowledge that enabled them to translate the message of the spirit into expression and form.

This science cannot be acquired in any modern school of architecture. It was a traditional knowledge handed down from one generation of builders to the other, and within their ranks it was preserved as a secret that could never be given to anyone who did not belong to their fraternity and who had not received their particular training and initiation.

We are today faced with the question : Has the secret of this science been entirely lost and can it never be retrieved ? Have we been drowned in the flood-tide of material and technical developments to such an extent, that we have become incapable of comprehending the inner law that brought forth these stupendous creations ? If for our good fortune we are still capable of feeling the impact of these splendid monuments created by the Ancients, and wish to understand their true meaning, we should first of all try to explore their genesis and the life of their authors. We should ask ourselves who were the people capable of conceiving such marvels, and what was the science that gave them concrete shape ? Even if we were never able to discover their secret, it would be no futile exercise to try to penetrate and comprehend the spirit and life of those, who could, without any profit-motif, dedicate all their fortune, their energy and time, their love and labour to the task of erecting stupendous and immensely costly structures that had no practical utility. These monu-

ments were erected exclusively for the service of a God, whom no one had ever seen, whom everybody however knew to be existing as the Fountain-head of all that was and is and would be in eternity. Studying the lives of those masters and rescuing them from the oblivion into which they have fallen, would not only be acknowledging an immense debt or gratitude for the treasures they have left to us, but also a profound lesson in principles of life and of work for the present generation.

While in India historical records referring to the building of temples are mostly confined to the names—often controversial—of the kings or dynasties who had them erected, in Europe some records about the architects of medieval cathedrals have been found. They are not many and knowledge about the great builders is still fragmentary, but certain significant facts about their lives and activities within the social structure of those times have come to light.

Since there is a striking similarity in the development, the character and the time of Gothic architecture in Europe and the Medieval period of temple architecture in India, it might be legitimate to draw certain inferences, applicable to both. In both the continents the greatest period of architecture falls between the years 1000 to 1300 A.D. In both the continents this was a period of intense religious effervescence, of conscience-and heart-searchings, of theological struggles between sects of various denominations. Without postulating a direct connection between the two, the parallelism of the inner history may well vouchsafe the existence of a parallel development in building activities, since in these the spirit of an epoch is invariably reflected.

The builder of churches and cathedrals were, from the leading architect to the last stone-cutter, organized in fraternities, to which no one could get admission unless he underwent the necessary professional training and accepted under oath the severe moral code imposed upon all. The training was imparted within the Confraternity on the place of work, or in the common premises. The aspirant had to work his way upwards through several different, well defined stages before he could qualify as a master of his art. If he was talented and proficient, there was no bar to his rising from the lowest rung of the ladder to the highest rank of a master-architect or master-sculptor, with the insignia and the authority due to his rank.

Among the moral laws imposed upon the members of the Confraternity the severest was that of absolute loyalty to the Order and absolute secrecy. No adept was entitled to impart or divulge the science of building outside the Confraternity, nor to divulge anything that was spoken within the assembly of the companions. Indiscretions entailed severest punishments and sanctions, sometimes even death. Secrecy was so jealously guarded, that the various fraternities burnt their papers every year, so that they should not fall into wrong hands. That is the reason why, once the living transmission had been broken, so very little has been known about the fundamental secrets of this art.

While the tradition was alive, all those engaged in the building of churches or cathedrals, architects, carpenters, masons, stone-cutters, sculptors, image-makers etc., considered their art as a sacred trust. They traced its origin back to the remotest antiquity and venerated King Solomon, who built the temple of Jerusalem, as their spiritual ancestor. Just as in India the art of architecture is traced back to Viśvakarman, the Creator of the universe, in Europe it was traced back to the wisest of kings in the old Testament. Its transmission to the builders of the Middle Ages was attributed to a legendary Master Jacques or to the equally legendary Father Soubise, who represented two different branches and schools of this architectural tradition. Factual history tells us that the great efflorescence of Christian architecture, from Merovingian times onward, began with the spread of the Benedictine Order, especially in France with the monks of Cluny, who within a century covered the greater part of Europe with Monasteries, Churches and Abbeys. Intimately associated with them was the Chivalry Order of the Templars, who took part in several crusades and had strong contacts with the Arabs, then in possession of the Holy Land. On their return from the East they started a tremendous building activity all over Europe. They constructed roads and bridges, cities and fortresses, hospitals and homes, schools and sanctuaries. As a matter of fact the origin of the gothic style of architecture falls into this period and it is presumed that it was based on a science of Geometry, which the Crusaders, and especially the Templars had brought back from the Orient. This science of Geometry, as it had been taught in ancient Greece by Pythagoras and Plato, was speculative and esoteric. It was lost when the spread of the Christian faith had done away with most traditions of classical antiquity. The Arabs were the only ones who had studied and preserved this science. When through the crusaders it was brought back to Europe, it became operative and gave rise to the phenomenal growth of gothic architecture. But in what way this Geometry was applied to architecture, in what way it became its very foundation, has remained till to-day the secret of the Cathedral builders and has disappeared with them. Many attempts have been made by scholars to unravel the secrets of this Art. But, although the technical processes and methods have been fully explored, the conceptions and visions on which they are based have, as far as I know, eluded the efforts of modern art-historians and art-philosophers.

The temple-builders of old, in possession of a secret science and in charge of a sacred mission, enjoyed great privileges within the communities. They were free citizens, not subject to the feudal lords, they could move freely from one town to another, from one country to another without administrative impediments, and no soldier or policeman had a right to lay hands on them. As a matter of fact they were bound, by their own constitution, to transfer themselves from one working place to another in order to gain the greatest possible experience under various masters. Only after having worked for a number of years in this way they could themselves attain to the position of a master. All the privileges of the building fraternities had

been solemnly confirmed by King Louis IX of France in a special charter, countersigned by all civil and clerical authorities and jealously guarded by the fraternities. In India records about the hundreds of thousands of master-architects and sculptors who created the innumerable wonderful temples with which the country is studded, are still more scarce. But in recent years one manuscript has come to light, which gives a detailed account about the construction of at least one big monument: the Sun-temple of Koṇārka. This manuscript, which records the expenditures incurred in the building of this temple, mentions the names and achievements, if not of all, of at least a great number of the artisans, big and small, who collaborated in this stupendous enterprise. It gives information about their methods of work and their technical contrivances, about the salaries of masters and workmen, their contracts, their remuneration in kind, in gifts of clothes, ornaments or land, which they also occasionally received. From these accounts one can infer their organisation and hierarchy on the place of work: There were three leading architects and all others had to obey their orders. But only one of them was the Sūtradhāra and the final authority on every question. It was he who was responsible to the Mahārāja for the entire work. A number of Supervisors who did no work themselves, constantly watched over the proper proceeding and progress of the work. They also distributed the salaries and had all administrative functions. What was the organization of the Sthapati community as such is however not mentioned. That there was some kind of fraternity amongst them on the pattern of those which were known in Europe can all the same be inferred from the fact that one of the builders bore the title of Pathuria Nāyaka, and another the title of Śilpi Nāyaka. Without a community or association there can be no chief. Even if they were not so systematically organized as in Europe, their groups must have had a perfect inner cohesion and a common tradition. It would be unthinkable that a monument of such perfect harmony as the Sun-temple of Koṇārka could have been achieved otherwise than by the concerted efforts of a phalanx of workers, who had the same training, the same science, the same initiation and the same will. A great science they must have possessed, which was the property and the secret of the entire community of temple-builders, and in which every one of the workers participated according to his special craft, his talents and industry. This science would have to be protected from misuse by the veil of secrecy, so that no outsider without the proper qualifications could toy with it. It is only in this way that the tradition could be kept alive and pure through the centuries and always produce new masterpieces. But it is also the reason why to day, when through political revolutions and upheavals the art lost its patronage and therefore died, so little can be known about its essential principles. Human memory is short and written records are no real substitute. That such monuments as Koṇārka could have been achieved by slave-labour as has been postulated in view of the tremendous physical performance they represent, seems out of the question on the strength of this document and also on the strength of logical considerations. If slave-labour might be admitted for the construction of pyramids in Egypt,

where it was mainly a question of cutting to size and piling upon one another enormous square blocs of stone on a pre-established plan, it could hardly be imagined that in India or Europe, where every stone of the elaborate structures had to be fashioned individually, simple slaves could have been employed. There is no doubt that such stones could only be moulded by skilled hands at the service of minds who understood the whole plan of the construction. If the general design of the temple and the decoration of each single part was established beforehand by the leading architects, individual understanding was indispensable for the execution of each single detail. The life which animates all parts of these buildings and has withstood the ravages of time and vandalisms of all sorts, could not possibly have been the work of slaves toiling under the whip, but only of intelligent individuals, united in the common enthusiasm for a great, sacred work, which allowed them to transcend their smaller selves. Discipline there certainly was, sacrifice also and perhaps in human toil, but that was self-imposed and voluntary in view of the higher purpose to which their lives were dedicated.

It is only in the joy of creation and in the consciousness of a transcendent purpose, that hundreds of artisans could find the moral force of carrying through such colossal works. There is no more exacting discipline than work in stone, and none that puts strength of character, power of concentration and endurance to a severer test. The image which the sculptor must have before his inner mind before applying his tools must be crystal-clear. The stone will not tolerate any fumbling or make-believe. Any false stroke of the chisel is beyond repair. This work demands a thorough vizualization, a profound knowledge of form, an untiring endurance for overcoming the resistance and inertia of the material. It is only by dogged labour that the stone can be made to yield the vizualized form. But once it has accepted the shape and received the lifebreath from the hands of a real artist, it will preserve it for ever. Even broken and mutilated, it still can speak to distant generations.

Over and above being men of action, these architects and sculptors must have been contemplatives who delved deep into the mysteries of existance. They might have been, what to-day is contemptuously called illiterate, but they superbly mastered another language in which to express their thoughts and offer their devotions to the Supreme Being. This language of form, which was their prerogative, was also the language of the people to whom their message was addressed. At a time, when there were no printing presses, when reading and writing was not in common use, these men translated the sacred books into living imagery which every one could understand. No less than priests, teachers, poets and bards they were instrumental in propagating the light of their ancestral religions. The sacred buildings with their imagery nourished thoughts and emotions, awakened a spiritual consciousness, that could lift people out of the narrowness of daily life on to a higher, more universal plane of existence. The temple thus became the spiritual home of all those who lived within its circumscription, its sphere of influence,

It was not only the ordainer of the daily and yearly religious rituals, which marked the rhythm of existence of the people, not only the witness of their joys and their refuge in calamities, it was the centre on which converged the civic and religious life with its laws and customs, and the high school for those who desired instruction.

All this was the merit of those untiring workers, who gave their entire lives to the task of realizing in durable stone the highest aspirations of their people and give them spiritual guidance. But no signature reveals the author of any such building or of any sculptured image. They have remained, for the greatest part, anonymous. The great work was everything, the person nothing. Their dedication was so absolute, that in the remotest, least visible corners of the monument they chiselled with the same care, love and accuracy, with which they fashioned its most conspicuous features. Being in possession of sacred esoteric knowledge, it would have been below their dignity to take pride in their mastery. Yet this should not be taken as a form of ascetic self-denial. It only shows that the consciousness of their spiritual mission and the joy of doing creative work gave them a deeper satisfaction, than what personal name and fame could have possible given them. If they considered their work as an offering to their divinity, as a gift, *to god*, they would also receive their achievements in all humility as a gift *from* God. While pride thus could not enter their hearts, the sense of purpose, of fulfilment, which their work gave to their whole existence, must have been ample reward.

There can be no greater satisfaction than to be able to do creative work by which to give shape to visions dormant in one's soul. Human creation takes many forms according to the medium it employs for its realization. But perhaps in no other than in the plastic mediums, clay, wood or stone, it becomes so palpably " the imitation of nature in her manner of operation," as quoted by A. K. Coomaraswamy in his Essay : Is art a superstition, or a way of life ? Unfortunately in India and elsewhere the thousands, who formerly could enjoy the blessings of such creative activities, as building temples and carving images, are now out of work. Hardly any sacred buildings in the true sense of the word are constructed to-day. Both the science and the fire of dedication have disappeared, and thus the incentive to create works of beauty with an inner purpose is missing, and with it is gone the joy of fulfilling a mission in life. Yet in this country the chances of reviving the art of sacred architecture in the true traditional sense of the word are far better than anywhere in the West. There are still scores of traditional Sthapatis in several provinces, who know their art well and who could flourish again, when given work and left to do it according to their own conceptions and their own knowledge. Not to speak of the innumerable tests still in existence, from which the principles and methods of this sacred art can be known, but which are still awaiting a more thorough exploration.

In celebrating the Diamond Jubilee of the Ascension to the Peeṭha of his Holiness Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya of Kānchi Kāmakoṭi Peeṭha, we would like to express our special gratitude to His Holiness for all he has done to restore

the honour and dignity of the Sthapati community. He has taken it upon himself to do all that is possible to combat the neglect and indifference into which their art has fallen and to find fresh scope for their art. To the great Āgama Sadas which he is convening every year he is attaching a Conference of Sthapatis. It appears that these Conferences have already had a beneficient effect in the South and have to a certain extent revived the interest of public and prospective patrons in this art, inducing them to engage Sthapatis for private and public building enterprises.

We fervently pray that the deeply revered Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya of Kāmakoṭi Peeṭha may exert his beneficient and holy activities in all walks of life for many years to come, and that by his influence the indigenous art of building may find a true revival and ascend to new greatness.

CONSIDERATIONS ON TANTRIK SPIRITUALITY

By
MARCO PALLIS
London

There are three ways of considering the *Tantra*, each acceptable in its own degree: firstly, there is the relatively external way of scholarship, concerned largely with accumulating information and sifting source-material—here questions of influences and origins, and of historical affinities generally, will play a part; secondly, there is the essential and normal way of regarding *Tantra*, which can also be called the "traditional" way, under its twofold aspect of a wisdom (*prajñā*) and a method (*upāya*) or, in other words, a metaphysical theory (lest we forget it, the primitive meaning of the Greek word *theoria* is "vision") together with its appropriate means of concentration, its yogic expedients; thirdly, there is what might be described as a generalised "tantrik sense," whereby it is possible to recognise the existence, in places where the name of *Tantra* has been unknown, of analogous doctrines and methods, thus providing concurrent evidence in favour of the spiritual methods in question. Let us see how the *Tantra* will appear when viewed from each of these different angles.

Firstly, the scholarly approach: it should be pointed out, from the outset, that this manner of regarding the subject (or indeed any subject) can be given both a legitimate and an illegitimate form. The true value of scholarship is an ancillary one: it is obviously advantageous to the student, whether engaged in a strictly religious pursuit or otherwise, to be provided with reliable texts and references of various kinds, a task which he himself, lacking the detailed knowledge and training could hardly undertake for himself; likewise it may be helpful, in an indirect way, to form a picture of the historical background of one's religion; and again, a discussion by experts of the exact bearing of the various technical terms figuring in one's texts can be very useful, since in course of time people often lose sight of certain shades of meaning these terms will have borne for the authors who first used them and which more or less thoughtless repetition may afterwards have blurred—this applies especially to translated texts. All this pertains to the cardinal Buddhist virtue of "mindfulness" in varying proportions, from which it can be seen that the concientious scholar is able to render a genuine, if modest service in this field.

The abusive employment of scholarship, on the other hand, which has become well-nigh all-invading in recent times, consists in examining sacred writings and other religious phenomena in the light, or rather in the darkness, of an inbuilt profane prejudice, with the set purpose of reducing them, one and all, to the status of historical, anthropological or sociological accidents, by an explaining away of every transcendent element to be found there—revelation, inspiration, intellection—in purely humanistic terms. The latest and

in many ways deadliest addition to this process of subversion is the psychological interpretation of religion, of which the Freudian and Jungian schools provide two representative forms, the one being avowedly materialistic and hostile, while the other affects a sympathetic attitude on the strength of a deftly nurtured system of equivocations, as between things of the spiritual and of the psychic order; the Tantrik doctrines have not escaped an attempted annexation to this point of view and the same applies to *Zen*. The fact is that nowadays even Oriental commentators, who might be expected to see further than their Western colleagues, often exhibit a most uncritical haste in adopting the latest exegetic aberrations and this trend has amounted, in many cases, to a regular intellectual stampede before the modern "scientism" or, in other words, to an urge towards religious and intellectual suicide. It is necessary to be warned of this danger, which is spreading far and wide on both sides of the globe today.[1]

It is under the heading of scholarship, which here must be taken in a very broad sense, that a question is best discussed which has often been raised in connection with the *Tantra*, namely the relationship (if any) between its Buddhist and Hindu forms; admittedly, to answer a question like this fully more than conventional scholarship is required; any attempted comment must in fact be accompanied by a certain metaphysical insight, able to look beyond the letter of texts and formulations to the underlying spirit in both the cases under comparison.

When the Tantrik writings first began to attract serious notice outside the Indian world, largely thanks to the outstanding studies of a late Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, Sir John Woodroffe (better known by his pen-name of Arthur Avalon), the fact that he himself, as a Sanskritist in close touch with Bengali *pandits*, devoted the greater part of his work to the Hindu *Shaktas* and their doctrines, led to a hasty assumption, by many, that the Buddhist *Tantras*, which Arthur Avalon had barely touched on, were but an extension of the Hindu Tantrik corpus; existence in both cases of an "erotic" symbolism, that is to say a representation of reality as the inter-play of a pair of conjoint principles respectively pictured as male and female, seemed to lend colour to the above conclusion : it hardly needs saying that this seeming polarisation into two divinities, as *Shiva* and *Shakti* in the one case and as the various Buddhas with their female counterparts, in the other, implies no radical dualism; the Tantrik point of view is advaitic through and through, so that

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1. In this connection, attention can fittingly be drawn to a very important article published in the quarterly review *Tomorrow*, from the pen of Mr. Titus Burchkhardt, in which among other things, the theories of Jung are critically examined ; the article is entitled *Cosmology and Modern Science* and appeared in the summer and autumn numbers 1964 and in the winter number 1965 of the journal in question ; part III deals with the psychological theories concerning religion. Another work containing similar criticism is *Western Psychology and Hindu Sadhana* by Dr. Hans Jacob (published by Allen and Unwin, London) ; the author is himself an eminent psychiatrist who at one time studied under Jung, but later came to discover both the fallacies underlying so much of Western psychological teaching and also the vast superiority of the Hindu and Buddhist handling of the human *psyche*.

it is only at the point of indistinguishable union (*maithuna*) of the male and female principles thus depicted that the truth is effectively to be found. The male divinity and his partner essentially *are* one another and can never be regarded apart; the static *is* the creative or productive power and *vice versa* and indeed, it is the very fact that a numerical unity has been avoided in the symbolism, in favour of the more subtle idea of non-duality, that makes the Tantrik symbolical language so peculiarly eloquent and its corresponding methods so effective in unloosing the hold of dualistic habit on the human mind.[2]

Prior to the publication of Arthur Avalon's series of volumes, the Tantrik practices and also their associated iconography had become a favourite target of vicious insinuation, firstly on the part of ignorant Western commentators especially missionaries, obsessed with unclean suspicions wherever the word " sex " is even mentioned and, following their example, also on the part of Westernised Orientals; this prejudice has died hard and it is only in the last few years that the *Tantras* have begun to be regarded in the world at large as respectable, let alone as spiritually important doctrines. It is largely thanks to observations carried out in the Tibetan field that this welcome, if belated, change has come about. When one looks back to the end of last century and the early years of the present one, barring the lonely voice of Avalon, very few Western writers had a good word to say on the subject; typical examples of the then prevailing prejudice are Madame Blavataky[3] and Waddell[4], to mention two well-known names. Even as late as 1936 an excellent scholar like the Japanese professor Tajima, himself an adherent of a Tantrik school (*Shingon*), voiced the current prejudice, not against Tantrism as a whole, but against the Tibetan forms of it, by suggesting that whereas those Chinese and Japanese Tantrik doctrines he himself favoured had originated, historically speaking, from Nalanda the Tibetan ones, according to him, had mostly issued from Vikramashila, which he wrote off as the home of relatively popular and super-

2. The Chinese symbolism of *Yin-Yang* conveys a similar message : here *Yin*, the female principle portrayed as dark in hue and representing the passive and potential side of things (*Shakti* might well be rendered as " potency ") and *Yang* the male, light in hue and representing their active or essential side, are combined in a circular diagram (in its way a kind of *maṇḍala*) the interlocked halves of which evidently correspond to the state of *maithuna* ; each half moreover displays one tiny spot of the opposing colour whereby is indicated the non-dualistic interpenetration of the principles thus depicted.

3. See *The Voice of the Silence*, where the Tantrik methods are repeatedly stigmatised as dark and unsavoury : it is evident that the lady founder of the Theosophical Society accepted the current libels without the least suspicion that they were tainted. Incidentally, this attitude of hers shows up the absurdity of the claim that *The Voice of the Silence* was a translation, or shall we say a free adaptation, of an ancient Tibetan scripture. Anti-Tantrik sentiments in a supposedly Tibetan context take a lot of swallowing, to say nothing of the obviously European flavour of the whole text.

4. See his *Lamaism* (Heffer) which despite its much factual material, is a regular tissue of misleading statements prompted by sectarian dislike. Waddell's persistent rendering of the female Wrathful Deities as " fiendesses " is but one example of the lengths to which his own prejudices carried that writer.

stitious beliefs and practices; his evidence for so thinking was, however, by no means clear. In any case, one is minded to ask, what about Naropa and his six Doctrines, since he certainly belonged to Nalanda? And where would Marpa and Mila Repa and so much of Tibet's finest esoteric flowering have been without them? If a man as well informed as Professor Tajima could still echo, even slightly, these old prejudices, this but goes to show how thoroughly the various slanderers of *Tantra* had gone about their work of slinging mud. There is no doubt, however, that it is the "sexy" denigration of the erotic symbolism that has chiefly helped to fog the issue, over and above whatever genuine problems the question of origins might have presented for more informed minds.

If I may be allowed here to strike a personal note, I should like to explain that when I first became aware of the place of *Tantra* in Tibetan tradition and art, my first impulse was to fly to its defence, in opposition to the prejudiced reports still current at the time, as described above; in the first flush of discovery that such a thing as a Tantrik Buddhism existed and that it was a treasury of beautiful and eminently significant symbols I was ready to give tongue to my enthusiasm, but certainly was not competent to go very far on the interpretative side—Avalon's treatises were then almost my only source of information and very precious they were at the time. That is why I readily resorted to Hindu usage, by referring to the *Yum* divinities as "Consort-Energies" when writing my first book *Peaks and Lamas*; too much, however, should not be read into this allusion, which was largely accidental and certainly did not amount to a technical appraisal of a definitive kind.

Even at that early date, however, I did perceive one thing, which others have since pointed out from a position of greater information, namely that the sexual symbolism, common to the Buddhist and Hindu *Tantra*, nevertheless exhibits a divergence, as between the two schools, touching the way in which the sexual attributions are respectively applied; that is to say, in Hindu Tantrism, *Shiva* (or any other male form of divinity) represents the static aspect while the corresponding female form represents the dynamic or creative aspect; hence her quality of *Shakti*, female-energy[5] which in Hindu parlance has become the generic term for all heavenly Consorts. In Buddhism, on the other hand, the symbolical pairing takes on an impersonal form (which agrees with the Buddhist "spiritual economy" in general) and it also works the other way round inasmuch as here it is *prajñā*, the female partner, who seems to indicate the more static aspect of the symbolism—"wisdom" is essentially a state or quality of being—while the male element in the syzygy

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5. It might be mentioned, in passing, as an instructive example of "spiritual coincidence", that in the Christian Church under its Orthodox (Eastern) form the doctrine of the "Divine Energies", first fully expounded by the great 14th Century doctor St. Gregory Palamas is distinctly reminiscent of the Hindu idea of *Shakti* which the word "energy" admirably renders. According to the Palamite theology God creates the world, not by His Essence, but by His Energies.

is referred to as method (*upāya*) which, on the face of it, carries dynamic implications, since it is thanks to a deploying of the right means, with their accompanying effort, that *prajñā* is able to be realised in the heart of the *Sādhaka*. Moreover, the traditional assimilation of *upāya* to *compassion* (itself a dynamic conception) lends additional weight to the view that the Buddhist Tantrik symbolism works the opposite way to the Hindu; from which some polemically-minded writers, filled with pro-Buddhist partriotsm, have gladly drawn the conclusion that Buddhist Tantrism is something entirely alien to the Hindu Tantrism; to which they add as a rider, supported by rather tendentiously selected and interpreted evidence, that it is anterior in origin and that it was the Hindus who borrowed these methods from the Buddhists (as well as other things) and then imposed on them, a *posteriori*, the specifically Hindu notion of power, *shakti*.

Without claiming to be a scholar myself, I do not consider an explanation of this kind necessary in order to account for the available evidence and the same applies in regard to criteria of a more profound kind; the truth would rather seem to be that what can, without abuse of language, be called the "Tantrik Revelation" belongs to both the great Indian traditions which it embraced, as it were in answer to a "cyclic need," in one providential overflowing of the Spirit in a manner that implies no derogation respecting the originality of either traditional form—rather let us see herein an example of that universal and divine Compassion which, in apparent disregard of all rationally delimited frontiers, provides what is needed for the salvation of suffering beings at a given time and place. It is not without reason that the Tantrik *Sādhanas*, wherever these are followed, are regarded as a way most appropriate to the conditions of the present phase of the world cycle, where more primordial and, in a sense, more inflexible ways no longer fully match the need.

To sum up the above view: the representation of non-duality in the guise of a merging of male and female conjugal love, as well as the variously characteristic yogic practices connected therewith, is enough to prove the fundamental kinship between the Hindu and Buddhist *Tantra* despite some important divergencies as to detail. Granted this basic identity it is going too far, however, to try and establish a point to point correspondence in the respective symbolisms: *shakti* and *prajñā* are not simply interchangeable ideas, and each of the two Tantrik currents has evidently given rise to some original features, consonantly with its own peculiar genius, so that the imperisonal *prajñā-upāya* relationship that has characterised *Mahayana* Buddhism on the one hand and the personified presentation characteristic of Hindu theism, *Shiva-Shakti*, on the other, have been able to grow out of the same erotic symbolism without risk of confusion in either direction. I doubt if one will get much nearer the truth of the matter than this.[6]

6. Similar views have been expressed by the late Dr. S. B. Dasgupta in his abundantly documented *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* published by the University of Calcutta in 1950 ; second edition in 1958. This distinguished scholar, while paying just tribute to the extent

By way of illustrating what might be described an a "metaphysical subterfuge," typical in its way, whereby an underlying identity is able to be discerned across an apparent expression of inter-religious rivalry, I would like to relate a rather amusing explanation given to me by a Lama when I was staying near Shignatse in 1947; we were speaking about the Kailāsa and its pilgrimage and I had just made the observation that the divinity dwelling on the sacred summit, *Demchhog* (महासुख । सम्बर) for the Tibetans and Lord *Shiva* for the Hindus, appeared to have much the same attributes; might one not infer from this, I asked, that *Demchhog* and *Shiva* are one and the same divinity and that each is, in effect, the other under a different name? "Oh no" said the Lama "you are mistaken in thinking thus. *Shiva* is the name of a Hindu god whom *Demchhoh* in the name of Buddhism, challenged and overcame, after which he appropriated his mountain and all his major and minor attributes, his *Yum* included"—a truly delightful way of by-passing traditional differences while seeming to make no concession to the other side. Nor must we overlook the fact that, according to this explanation, the Lady *Pārvatī* exchanged her former quality of *Shakti* for that of her new husband's *prajñī* without turning a hair; the long and short of all this being that the situation on Mount Kailāsa remains unchanged and unchangeable and all ways lead there. The conquest of Buddhism by the Ādi Śankarācārya and his four great disciples, when read in conjunction with the recognition of the Buddha as one of the *Avatāras* of Lord Viṣṇu, can be interpreted in a similar sense; the symbolical intention behind all the above examples is plain enough.

Having dwelt so long on this much canvassed question of affinities, it will only be possible to touch briefly on the second of our three aspects of *Tantra*, on what was described at the outset as its normal or traditional aspect. In this connection it may well be asked, in view of the worldwide religious crisis going on today, whether any of the Tantrik *Sādhanas* still remain viable for men of the present generation and if so, what are the conditions allowing a man to opt for this way. The answer is that wherever the traditional structure has withstood the pressure of the times sufficiently to allow a would-be *Sādhaka*

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and variety of the Buddhist Tantrik literature, nevertheless maintains and, as it seems to me, substantiates the thesis that "Tantricism", whether Hindu or Buddhistic .... are fundamentally the same". He certainly does not overlook any of the differences of expression and practice that distinguish the two traditions. His appraisal of the basic theology behind the symbolism is clear and concise, while the wealth of illustration and commentary is of the most satisfaying proportions. It is notworthy that here and there in this book the author refers to one or other Buddhist goddess as the *shakti* of her corresponding male divinity : the content shows, in every case, that here he is making a purely conventional use of the term as is but natural in one Indian-born ; had he been speaking of the Hellenic gods, he would doubtless have referred to Hera as the *shakti* of Zeus : nothing further is to be read into this proceeding on his part, which explains itself at a glance. All that one can usefully add is to say that, given the slight verbal inaccuracy in introducing the term *shakti* into a Buddhist context, the word "Consort" (which exactly renders the Tibetan *Yum*) is to be perferred as precluding all possible terminological confusions.

to find a *guru* qualified to initiate and give instruction there is no reason for him to hold off from following this line; let him profit from any discoverable opportunity while the going is good. If a door that is open today becomes closed tomorrow it will then be time to think again; but there is no reason to anticipate on this worser eventuality. Admittedly, the sacrilegious over-running of Tibet, the chosen home of *Tantra*, has left the adjoining countries sadly unsupported; it is as if a bountiful fountain of spiritual influence has suddenly dried up. It would be going too far, however, to say that all opportunities of this kind have disappeared in the neighbouring regions; in Japan also, the Tantrik initiations of *Shingon* and *Tendai* still carry on, which is marvellous in a country where profane forms of education together with industrialism have been developed to an extreme degree, as has happened there. It is these developments, fruits of the conjunction of an āsuric substitute for *prajñā* with a no less āsuric *upāya* which everywhere constitute the greatest threat to religious life. Contemporary man, a helpless slave of his own mechanical creations, remains as if suspended between two kārmically interconnected explosions, the nuclear one and the "population explosion". Lacking all discernment, he diverts to the purveyors of rockets to the moon that admiration that once was offered to the Buddhas and the Saints. This fascination exerted on the human mind by trivialities inflated to monstrous proportions is in fact one of the characteristic notes of the fearful era foretold by Tsong Khapa (and also by the Scriptures of all peoples) when, as he said, 'impurity grows greater and greater."

This era is now upon us as part of our *karma*, which we cannot hope to by-pass but have to face: what then is the attitude required of us under these unavoidably distressing circumstances?

Surely the answer every true *Sādhaka* will give is this, namely that "the world is always the world even when times seem fair; so also *Bodhi* is *Bodhi* even in an accursed hour. Therefore, I myself, be I even left as the sole follower of the way in a world grown hopelessly inattentive, shall continue to pursue the Way and not look back"-surely this is the only practical attitude for anyone to take up, under whatever circumstances; the essential message of the *Sūtras* and *Tantras* does not differ from this.

Though it was natural to refer first, when broaching the above question, to the parent lands of *Tantra*, in Asia, it might also be asked whether, under the exceptional conditions now prevailing, some exporting of Tantrik methods might not take place in other directions, leading to a fresh local flowering; those who put this question are usually thinking of the dispersion of Tibetan Lamas in various alien lands, whereby some are hoping that a new impetus may be given to slumbering spiritual forces in the West. To such a question one can only answer that exceptional adaptations are always theoretically possible; they cannot be ruled out in principle. Humanly speaking, however, and on a more obvious showing, the kind of spiritual *upāyas* that will be feasible under conditions where the environment is no longer traditionally receptive are likely to differ in various respects from those to which recourse can be

had under circumstances of greater human normality; less complex spiritual instruments would seem to lend themselves best to so critical a situation.

Among *upāyas* of this nature, requiring very little in the way of set conditions for their methodic utilisation, the various forms of "invocation" (*japa*) centred round the presence of a holy Name, focus of mantric power, are the first to come to mind. One characteristic example is the *Nembutsu*, the *mantra* belonging to *Shin* Buddhism in Japan and enshrining the name of *Amitābha Buddha* as its operative theme; it is moreover evident that the similar use of the *mantra* of Chenrezig, in Tibet, which could also be called the "quintessential invocation," is closely akin to the *Nembutsu* in intention, if only by reason of the principal relationship of the Bodhisattva *Chenrezig* (*Avalokiteśvara*) and the Buddha *Opagmed* (*Amitābha*) as proved "mythologically" by the origination of the former from the head of the latter. Similarly, in Eastern Christianity, we have the "Jesus Prayer," an invocatory formula the use of which by the contemplatives of Mount Athos is extremely reminiscent of certain Tantrik methods. Again, in the Islamic world, we find the invocation (*dhikr*) of the Supreme Name, which is the central *upāya* of the Sufic initiations and of the spiritual confraternities (*turuq*) attached to them. The important thing to note in every such case is that the formula invoked as *mantra* will always point to three possible levels of realization : when used as a means of gaining merit, good *karma*, it has a relatively external applicability; it can also be used as a means of deepening piety, when it comes under the heading of a bhaktic support; lastly, the same formula can be the basis of a properly *juanic* realisation (this implies a methodic invocation under guidance by a qualified Spiritual Master), whereby this *upāya* rejoins the methods of the *Tantras*, inasmuch as it is able to take one to the gate of Deliverance itself.

It is evident that, by comparison with the ways described above, the Tantrik meditations, which by the nature of things demand long periods free from interruption for their normal accomplishment, remain relatively unadaptable; what is suitable in a spiritual summer may not be so in the wintry days of profane degeneration. To speculate on what is or is not any longer possible hardly falls within the scope of the present discussion; all one can do is to watch for signs and, where these appear, to respond in the most appropriate way.

What, however, does deserve attention, not only within the Hindu-*cum*-Buddhist world but also in the lands beyond, is what may fittingly be called "the Spirit of *Tantra*", our third category in the preamble to this essay. What then are the criteria wherewith to recognise that spirit, wherever it may occur ? In its way, this question is important under all circumstances and every man of spiritual intent stands to gain from its answering, even if his own way of realisation does not assume one of the forms coming under the Tantrik label. A short discussion of this question will therefore provide a natural conclusion to the present considerations on Tantrik spirituality.

Essentially one can speak of a "Tantrik sense" or a "Tantrik spirit" (the former being the faculty wherewith to recognise the presence of the latter)

in connection with any doctrine or method of which the conscious aim is a *transmutation* of the human soul in such a way as to enable the true Intelligence, the "mind of *Bodhi*", to emerge and take command. This process is properly an *alchemical* one, inasmuch as no element in the soul is actually to be destroyed or cut out; the Tantrik technique consists in putting to use whatever exists there, without exception; which in its turn implies the possibility of converting whatever is base or polluted into something pure and noble.

In medieval Europe, as also in the Islamic world, the alchemical sciences were founded on this idea: according to the mineral symbolism they used, *lead*, the basest metal, was to be transmuted, quickly or by stages, into the solar metal, *gold*; in Hindu terms, this is a question of redressing the balance of the *guṇas*, lead being the metal in which *tamas* predominates while gold is the most *sāttvic* metal of all. In the course of this process certain other symbolical substances, notably sulphur and mercury, were called into play at various stages of the alchemical operation. If even in the Middle Ages the ignorant sometimes credited the alchemists with a literal intention of getting rich by manufacturing gold from lead, historians of modern science have displayed a similar ignorance in believing that Alchemy was simply a primitive attempt to do what the present-day chemist does and that the various materials referred to were what their names indicate and no more; it is thanks to a few investigators who have taken the trouble to study the alchemical writings with proper care and an open mind that this hitherto misunderstood science, so close to the *Tantra* in intention, has at last been cleared of the crude misconceptions that had gathered round it especially in modern times.[7]

A particularly important point to note in connection with Alchemy, is the recognition, across all apparent differences, of a common essence linking together the two substances to be found at the beginning and end of the transmutative process. If the Alchemist in course of his investigations happens to find lead mixed in with other metals, he does not hastily throw it on the scrap-heap since, to his discerning eye, its leaden dullness already masks the potential radiance of pure gold. Therefore he treasures it like the rest while considering the proper means for converting it into what by rights it should be; his attitude is typically "advaitic" and so is his technique. In fact, certain Alchemists have declared that lead, or any "base" metal, is eessentially gold fallen sick; gold is lead free from all illness. One might well parallel this statement, from the Tantrik side, by saying that a worldly man is nothing but a sick Buddha; a Buddha is a man who has been wholly healed of his existential sickness.

Together with the idea of transmutation, on which all alchemical processes depend, has gone a certain attitude towards the ethical prescriptions

7. One of the most authoritative, as well as intelligible, works on the subject now available is *Alchimie*, by Titus Burckhardt, the same author whose name figures in note 1; the publisher is Walter-Verlag, of Olten and Freiburg in Breisgau. This book, which is copiously documented, exists at present in German and Italian; an English transalation is much to be desired.

of religion which, in the case of the *Tantra*, is among those features that have on occasion provoked accusations of moral laxity of the kind alluded to earlier in this essay. This attitude consists in regarding even a person's vices as a source of latent power, as a virtue misapplied but still utilisable if one knows the proper way to handle it; simply to suppress the outward expression of a vicious tendency, by a single-handed effort of the will carried out when in a state of relative unawareness, may not be the most effective way to rid the soul of the tendency in question-not to mention the danger of letting in another and worse evil in order to fill a vacuum created in a psychic substance not yet conditioned to attract a compensating element from a purely spiritual direction. Christ's story of the seven devils rushing in to occupy the house left empty after the expulsion of the single previous devilish occupant provides a vivid illustration of this particular danger. The Tantrik or Alchemical healer bases certain of his practices on an awareness that, by comparison with the characteristic slipperiness of human thought, a passion often displays a relatively simple and graspable character, such as allows of its being made to serve as the " raw material " of an alchemical operation in its early stages; to handle a passional element provisionally as an *upāya* for an avowedly spiritual purpose does not in the least imply a condoning of passion as such and, still less, any writing down of the virtue whereof that passion is the negative reflexion or shadow. All such a healer does is to view any particular passion in relation to the process of purification considered as a whole, which may sometimes require that it be tolerated provisionally for reasons of psychic equilibrium, though certainly not excused in itself. The true Tantrik practitioner is interested in an integral regeneration, nothing less; that is why, for him, every property of body and mind will have its proper place there, the art being to know how to put each thing in its place, without omission or suppression of any utilisable factor, be appearances as they will. Individual abuses apart, it is in the light of this general principle that those Tantrik practices must be judged which have been the occasion of " scandal " to the conventional moralists; anyone who approaches the question in this way will need no further convincing that the Tantrik tradition is as much concerned as exoteric religion with the promotion and practice of the virtues; only its manner of pursuing this purpose goes deeper than symptoms, than the mere form of acts, being in fact most concerned with the medium in which these acts are able to arise, which it tries to transmute so that only virtue is able to survive there.

A virtue, for one engaged on any esoteric path, is primarily a mode of knowing or, to be more accurate, a factor dispositive to Enlightenment. Similarly, a vice will be rated as a factor of ignorance, or as a cause of thickening the existential veil between the human subject and the light; this way of regarding good and evil is a properly " intellectual " (*jñānic*) one, the usual perspective of merit and demerit being, by comparison, relatively external and dualistic, but not wholly untrue for that-indeed far from it. To practise a virtue is then like clearing a window in the soul; to indulge in a vice is like smearing that same window with dirt; that is why the practice of the virtues

is not less important for one pursuing the *jñānic* way than for the *karma yogin* or the *bhakta* (for the latter it is pleasing or offending the Beloved that counts); more or less engimatic references in the Tantrik writings to the man for whom the distinction between good and evil has ceased to matter need not deceive anyone on that score.

No better description of *Tantra*, in a European language, can be found than to call it an " alchemical science of the soul " whereby the lead of saṁsāric existence becomes transmuted into what it already is in principle, namely the *Bodhic* gold, eternally gleaming.

THE NEAR BANKRUPTCY OF THE WEST AND ITS RELATION TO THE SPIRITUAL HERITAGE OF THE EAST

By

D. M. Matheson

Newbury

At the close of the nineteenth century it could still be claimed with a measure of truth that England, like other Western countries, was largely regulated by standards and values derived, however remotely from the Christian tradition. If little regard was paid to those standards on the scale of individual conduct they nonetheless gave a certain stability and coherence to society as a whole. But the stability proved a fragile facade already eroded from within by the forces of the industrial revolution and of modern science when it was shaken by world war and the dominance in many countries of the world outlook of Marxism. Today none of the ancient certitudes remain unchallenged in the West; many are wholly disregarded.

Isaac Newton may not have been orthodox in his outlook, but he showed his attitude to reality in describing himself as being like a boy playing on the sea shore and diverting himself in now and then finding a smoother pebble than ordinary, while all the time the great ocean of truth lay undiscovered before him. Today many scientists doubt or deny the very existence of such an ocean; they look on the physical world, with which alone they can deal, as being the whole of reality and the basis and cause from which arose or evolved with mathematical inevitability those "appearances" which we call life, thought emotion and freewill. At the same time the physical world has been redefined, on the atomic scale, as fields of force and emptiness. In the result no basis remains for an objective hierarchy of values within the realm of manifestation, though an hypnotic identification with the dizzying acceleration of technology leads to it being lauded as "evolutionary progress" and to the disintegration of society being ignored or disregarded.

Demon est Deus inversus, said the Jewish Kabbala, the devil is the inverse of God, and this absence of any standard of values is a sort of topsy-turvy parody of the *samadarśinaḥ* of the sage.

Vidyāvinayasaṁpanne
brāhmaṇe gavi hastini |
śuni caiva śvapāke ca
paṇḍitāḥ sama-darśinaḥ ||

But between our state of blind ignorance and that of the sage comes both the need to accept a traditional evaluation of phenomena and also the practice of a form of *Ātmānātmaviveka.*

It is true that some scientists have seen that the emergence theory presents very grave difficulties just from a scientific point of view[1]. But, even if they were listened to-as they seldom are—such dicta could not change the outlook of a society unaware of its own sickness; indeed liberating influence could only come from a higher level of reality. Escape from a well-guarded prison cell only comes through the help of friendsout side who are free coupled with a persistent realisation of the need to escaep.

If there is in the West a minority qualified to receive and to profit by such help, whence and how could it come ?

There is now a whole network of contacts of many kinds between East and West. Many of the sacred books of the East and a certain number of the great commentaries are available in translation. Moreover there are in the West not a few agencies claiming to impart to Europeans Hindu or Buddhist esoteric doctrines, methods and even initiations. There are some who would claim that the Christian tradition is a spent force, virtually dead, and that, just as Hinduism has in the past absorbed into its rich variety many autochthonous faiths, it can now in some sense and with adaptations provide a spiritual tradition for the West. Such people speak of the universal validity of metaphysics and of the outlook of teachers like Udayanācārya with his: "Whom the Śaivas worship as Śiva, the Vedantins as Brahman, the Buddhists as Buddha, the Naiyyāyikas as the Chief Agent, the Jainas as the Ever Free, the ritualists as the Principle of Law, may that Hari, Lord of the three worlds, grant our prayers".

Here very marked reserve is needed for the premises are unsound. Certainly study of the Vedas may have a profound and beneficent effect even on a European, who might be held to be scripturally debarred from such study, but apart from an authentic interpreter—not easily to be found—such study may lead into errors. Certainly too even quite brief contract with a *mahāpuruṣa* may for some be like a quickening fire. But a *sādhana* is not a matter for mind alone or for flashes alone; if it is to lead to fulfilment, to a total metamorphosis, it must continuously involve the whole man and cannot be divorced from traditional forms which are its raiment. If the existence in India today of Masters or Jagadgurus, who are both expositors of the beginningless Wisdom in undistorted form and also exemplars of its fruits is of crucial importance for the West as well as for India—and the equivalent could be said of the existence of Masters in the other great traditions—it is above all because they are in truth sustainers and preservers of the world and guarantors of the timeless current leading from here to *there*.

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1. Thus Polanyi, L. L. Whyte and W. H. Thorpe have pointed out that even a machine involves two levels of existence because its initial parameters are not controlled by the laws of physics and chemistry but by laws of a different order. The information content of a virus particle or even a bacterial cell would have to be incredibly high within a radius of about two microns if the idea of multiple levels of reality is excluded.

YUṢMAD - ASMAD RELATION AS STARTING POINT IN PHILOSOPHY

By
CHEDOMIL VELAYACHICH
Yugoslavia

I

It is often surprising to experience anew the revealing power of old classical texts of human wisdom and art. Sometimes, as soon as you open them, you get the impression of re-discovering some essential point which seems to have remained neglected in standard interpretations. Thus, for instance, the opening page of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* remains for me the most beautiful masterpiece of the Greek classical literary style, and beyond that, the text that follows in the first book of *Metaphysics* on the history of the pre-Socratic hylozoist philosophy, is still to day more revealing for my understanding than most of the later studies on that subject. What I find in the first book of *Metaphysics* and in Aristotle's book on *Psychology*, corresponds essentially, though in a less extensive and clear form, to the contents that I had to re-discover for myself as a student of Indian philosophy in the *Chāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka upaniṣads* on the same subject, outside of the great navigable stream of the *mahāvākyāni*, in the backwaters, so to say.

From a purely aesthetical point of view you may take it for granted and quite naturally, that such feelings of almost inexhaustible freshness can be inspired by old texts when we approach them in their integrity, not just in order to check a few references here and there, but without any pre-conceived purpose, as when you feel like going for a walk or a pleasure trip to a peculiar place. But we must take for granted also that the business-man in science—and there will always be a good deal of them in philosophy too, though at the moment their number seems slightly to decrease—the business-man will remark, with a certain right, that a good deal of such romantic dilettantism has to be ascribed to our own adventurist and imaginative mood alone. Here, among you, in India, I cannot pretend more than to be a *dilettante* and adventurous reader of such books as a *Śāṅkara-bhāṣya*. You can therefore ask me : What do you imagine to be able to discover when you open the *Brahma-sūtra Śāṅkara-bhāṣya* ? But should it not be enough for a philosopher to discover anywhere something of what he had imagined even before to be existing somewhere, or even to find an incentive for his own imagination in such a book ?

What I wish to express in the continuation is an observation of this kind, an observation which, I presume, has not remained completely unnoticed before; yet it seems to acquire a particular importance of actuallity for the view-point from which my generation of European philosophers approach the basic problem of philosophizing as a whole.

I am far from any attempt to interpret, or to re-interpret, Śaṅkarācārya whose system of thought I have not studied thoroughly enough but whose

achievements I yet dare appreciate highly from what I know of and about it. I have translated into my mother-tongue (Yugoslav) *Ātma-bodha* and *Upadeśa-sāhasrī*. But the most striking impression that Śaṅkaras's philosophy has made on me is contained in the first two terms of the long opening compositum of the *Samanvayādhyāya* in his *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya*. They are: *Yuṣmad-asmad* as determining the basic relation of *viṣaya* and *viṣayin* (or the subject-object relation determined by the terms *You* and *I*). When I read it for the first time it was enough to make me feel giddy, due to my immediate associations with European, mainly existentialist philosophies. Should we not have come a long time ago to the idea to try to replace Uddālaka's *tad* and Aristotle's *tode-ti* (" this-there", the abstract object) by *yuṣmad*, a personal and subjective " you ", since this is very obviously the primordially most adequate reference to *asmad* (or " me " as subject). Nobody has as yet seriously doubted of it that the other, as the first correlate to myself, are *you* and not *it*.

Another point in the same connection is Śaṅkara's explanation that " nobody ever acts or is concerned with a mere body which is not super-imposed by the notion of the self" (*anadhyast'ātma-bhāvena dehena*) and the immediately following interpretation of the psychological state in which a person "does not differ from animals" in the process of cognition (*vijñāne*) : " As animals when their sense of hearing and other senses are brought into relation with sound and other sense elements, if there is produced a cognition of sound and other sense data that are unfavorable, recede from them, and if they are favourable, approach them; and as they, seeing a man approach with a stick held aloft in his hand, begin to run away thinking, " he desires to beat me", but seeing him with his hand filled with green grass, proceed towards him, in the same way......in the case of men, though of cultivated mind......the empirical usage relating to means and objects of valid knowledge is similar to that of animals "—that is, " valid " knowledge is of a teleological origin and its purposefulness depends obviously from the primordial intuition of the existential *yuṣmad-asmad* relation. It is a socio-biological response to the *appeal* of the other, conducive to communion, possible only as *yuṣmad*, and never as pure abstract *tad*—or object-relation.

One may add that for the same reason this has to be considered as a alse knowledge, superimposed by social conventionality—as we use to say today. This is exactly the point on which it seems to me that the *yuṣmad-asmad* relation inserts itself in the essential metaphysical position of Śaṅkara.

At the end of the *Samanvayādhyāya* the scope of "all *vedānta*" is defined accordingly when Śaṅkarāchārya says that " this beginningless and endless natural process of superimposition, in the form of erroneous conception causes both acting and enjoying (*kartṛtva-bhoktṛtvapravartakaḥ*) as directly experienced by the entire world." —This is the " cause of all evil " and therefore only " acquiring the knowledge of the unity of the self ", can remove it—because the evil, just as a fragmentary consciousness of the self, can arise only in a *person*, be it *asmad* or *yuṣmad*, me or the other man, but never in any-*thing else*. And that is why " all the *vedānta* is commenced," concludes Śaṅkara. As

I understand it, the stress is laid on the reciprocal relation between persons as the primordial source of *adhyāsa*, and not on the subject-object relation. Thus the *viṣaya-viṣayin* relation from the first sentence of the *Samanvayādhyāya* is brought at the end to the *kartṛtva-bhoktṛtva* personal relation as its efficient cause or *pravartaka*.

II

The problem of comparative philosophy, in which I am most interested in this connection, is : How far from, or how close to this initial *yuṣmad-asmad* criterion are we today in Europe in our endeavours to reshape the fundamental ontological proof of our own existence in the world? Let me first remind you that the contemporary philosophy of existence—in its attempts of an un-orthodox and 'destructive' return to the ancient sources of human wisdom, in Greece and beyond, in the Asian East—has, among others, started from re-translating the Greek term *Logos* more adherently to its proper etymology as 'discourse,' and not any longer as 'Reason' or 'Spirit,' a meaning that became familiar to us mainly due to the mediaeval Christian tradition.

Further, the ontological proof has already re-appeared in a modern *bhedābheda* shape. The 'split' produced by knowledge in the *sat-cit* awareness of self-being in our human reality is basically meant to serve the re-approaching tendency to communication *with* the *other person*, and not merely to serve the *mind* in its functional de-severing (dis-joining) subjects *and* objects, or rather subjects *from* objects. Existentially there is no pure '*and*' relation, relation without a preceding intentional commitment, not even in the process of logical thought. It is still more important to state that in the epistemological subject-object relation there is no actual reference to being. The principle that "Being cannot be predicated" was well known and carefully respected by the mediaeval Christian scholastic logicians. Being is inseparately inherent to all consciousness of entities. Within the *sat-cit* there is no ontological split. Only an epistemological *bheda* can take place, and in so far it was properly determined by Śaṅkara in the same context as *mithyā-jñāna-nimitta*. Against any relative, reflective and discoursive process of cognisance *sat-cit* remains a permanently 'unsplit' or *abheda* background of being. This is, in a few words, the clearly enough acquired position resulting from our modern phenomenological analysis of 'pure experience' in the European, both German and French, philosophy of the twentieth century. So far at least we have implicitly laid the foundation for replacing *the accent* from the *tad-viṣaya* to the more primordial *yuṣmad-viṣaya* perspective in humanistic philosophy.

The deeper I try to read and to re-read Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya*, everything continues to range itself for my understanding around this cardinal existential point. If Śankarācārya did not think so, then I do, thanks partly to mis-understood coincidences in intentions. I wish to give here only one small example of my way of reading Śaṅkara as I do it for my own delight. This example does not refer to any of the accidental or peripheric expressions of his geniality, but to the classically recognized central point of his approach to

the theological problem in the *vedānta*, to what is termed usually, though always with some reserve, as his " rationalism ".

At the beginning of *Samanvayādhikaraṇa* (commentary on the fourth *Brahma-sūtra*, Śaṅkara rejects the basic position of Jaimini (*sūtra* 1, 2, 1) : " The *veda* having action (*kriyā*) as their purpose, the portions in it which do not indicate any action, are purposeless." From the long and famous argumentation by Śaṅkara against this view-point I have chosen the following few statements:

Brahma-vidyā (or the knowledge of Being, as we would say to-day in the West) " does not depend upon any kind of operation by man.........It is not possible to imagine by any method of reasoning that *brahman* or the knowledge of *brahman* is supplementary to action, as being an object of the act of knowing."—" Between the intuition of *brahman* and being the all-comprising self there is *no intermediate act*." The realization that *brahman* is not " an object but the inner self, removes the distinction between objects to be known, the knower, and the act of knowing, as imagined through nescience."

This is what we in Europe traditionally have tried to express by th principle that " Being cannot be predicated," that the epistemological process of cognizing objects by subjects does not penetrate at all into the sphere of actual *being*, and that in the rational discursive process of knowledge, as determined by the rules of logic, " being " remains the unnecessary or " superfluous " element of non-seizable transcendence which can be understood only by some other way of human realization, if at all. Kant considers that we may attain to the sphere of transcendence only by our Practical Reason which is the medium of ethical insight, because this is the way of freedom. Śaṅkara speaks of the " final release which is of the nature of the eternally free self." For this reason " the knowledge of the self results in its own fruit," as Śaṅkara says, or in the realization of one's own being whose irrational aspect is more and more stressed by the contemporary philosophy of existence.

It is in this connection, finally, that we in Europe realize the advantage of a *yuṣmad-viṣaya* as a less " objectified " and less " estranged " entity, less " alienated " by *mithyā-jñāna* from the true and authentic self toward which we still hope to find the way through our fragmentary and " obscured " *asmad*-consciousness. The *Jīvātman* may still recognize a " mirroring " of itself when contemplating the world as the field (*gocara*) of *yuṣmad*, but it never will reach this height of intuited reflection in an abstract *tad-viṣaya* region. Of this we have become fully aware to-day, also in Europe.

REFLECTIONS ON THE VALIDITY OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE VIVARAṆA

By

KLAUS COMMAN,

Frankfurt

Prakāśātman tells us in his *Pañcāpādikā-vivaraṇa* that our empirical knowledge of every day life is valid, if we attribute to the manifold objects of this world-appearance not more than an existence possessing capacity for practical efficiency (*arthakriyā-sāmarthya-sattva*). This is a view substantiated by other Advaita texts too. Error starts then and only then, when we predicate of the objects of this manifold world something more: absolute reality (*paramārtha-sattva*). In ancient India there had been enough philosophical systems doing so. In how far does such a statement imply error in view of Advaita? Dasgupta says in his *History of Indian Philosophy* (Vol. I page 443): the world possesses no absolute reality, because it is neither "existing" (*sat*) nor "not existing" (*asat*). The world-appearance is said to be "*sat*" since it exists for a time, but since it does not exist for all times it is "*asat*." A great part of the modern physicists does not attribute "absolute" existence to the world-appearance. They just say it exists and refrain from specifying the ontological mode of this existence further. Apart from that, their doctrines amount to attributing to this world an absolute beginning dating back some milliards of years ago. Is such a statement free from error in view of Prakāśātman's *ontology*? As the wording runs we should not hesitate to agree, (though ancient Indian cosmology does not speak of an absolute beginning). Taking into consideration only the ontological side of the mentioned problem, we can say that according to modern physics the "existence" of objects hardly means anything else than their capacity for practical efficiency. The discrepancy does not exist in the formulation of physical theories. It rather must be read between the lines, because the average physicist will vehemently refuse the possibility that this world-appearance eventually may be sublated or at least proved to be a sort of *fata morgana* by the knowledge of Advaita *i.e.*, by the true knowledge of the Brahman. In a debate with a modern physicist one could raise the argument: By which experience do we know at all that such a sublation is totally out of the question? From an epistemological point of view the physicist will agree that nowhere can we see or notice unsublatability as a characteristic mark of objects. Unsublatability is rather taken for granted, and the ordinary human being will hardly feel any critical urge to ask for a proof of an unsublatable world-appearance. The result is that we approach objects of everyday life with a wrong expectation. Our senses represent us objects characterized by a lot of artibutes, but we hardly can say the senses represent us objects having the attribute of unsublatability. The senses do not establish such a knowledge. Unsublatability is merely a

subjective expectation the realization of which we expect from the objects without having any objective justification in doing so.

If the modern physicist takes into account the strict wording of his theories, he will say that he is not concerned about sublatability or unsublatability of the world-appearance. This question, whether it may be decided positively or negatively, is of no importance to him. Physics is merely interested in finding out by means of experiments which laws, expressed by mathematical equations, are valid in this world, and to all the objects interlocked by these laws, "existence" can rightly be attributed.

For the ancient Advaitin such an elegant escape from apparent difficulties was not in stock. He was rather caught by his own definitions and his antagonism against the Buddhist Vijñāna-vāda. Pramāṇas are the means leading to valid knowledge (*Pramā*). Valid knowledge, however, is defined as unsublatable knowledge. Thus it is said explicitly in the later works on Advaita, and Prakāśātman too acknowledges it implicitly. Consequently *Pramāṇas* are no *Pramāṇas*, if they make known a thing that later on is sublated partly or totally. Well-known is the attitude Advaita assumes in this question. From an empirical point of view no orthodox "Darśana" can doubt that *Pramāṇas* acquaint us with unsublatable reality, since otherwise the doctrines of Vijñāna-vāda may find an easy justification. Now the question arises in how far the statement that a world-appearance does exist is error (*Apramā*) from a *metaphysical* point of view. Here the opinion of the different Advaita teachers may differ considerably. Of course, it is an erroneous statement to say that the existence of this world-appearance is marked by absolute reality (*Paramārtha-sattva*). But is it also an error to state that the world-appearance does exist, provided we are aware that this existence does not imply absolute reality but only capacity for practical efficiency? Prakāśātman's reply is negative. He says knowledge derived from Pramāṇas is sublated in what concerns their attributing absolute reality to this world-appearance, whereas their stating the existence of objects that serve their purpose in this world is not sublated.[1] But does he really intend to maintain this also from the *mataphysical* point of view *i.e.*, from the view of a man that has attained the final salvation ? We can rightly affirm this question, because after final redemption the direct knowledge of this world continues. The world does not disappear like the dream-world disappearing after awakening, it continues to represent itself to the redeemed consciousness, but in a form which does not imply any suffering to which the unredeemed one is subject. The redeemed consciousness suffers just as little by having knowledge of the miseries of this world-appearance as a pretty girl who sees herself reflected in a dirty mirror which represents her face as if sprinkled with ugly pimples. Prakāśātman, of course, does not speak of a girl at this passage of the Vivaraṇa. He merely refers to this well-known Advaita illustration that a mirror eventually may fool the inexperienced,

1. Vide *Vivaraṇa* pp. 351-352, Madras Government Oriental Series No. CLV, Madras 1958.

if he does not realize that, due to certain deficiencies inherent in the mirror it does not reflect our face as spotless as it is in reality.[1]

Subsequent to this passage Prakāśātman comes to speak of the Eka-jīva-vāda in the view of which there is no knowledge of a world in the stage of final redemption. But he does not prefer the Eka-jīva-vāda as a sort of "higher" doctrine. He rather offers the Eka-jīva-vāda and the Aneka-jīva-vāda as two theories fitting equally well into the general concept of Advaita. This method of offering several solutions to a problem is quite usual in the Vivaraṇa, and should not surprise us. Nevertheless, it must be said that the unbiassed reader of the Vivaraṇa somehow feels himself delegated to the Aneka-jīva-vāda.

From the point of view of this theory the question arises now whether this experience of a world after final redemption is valid knowledge (*Pramā*) or error (*Apramā*). (This experience must be considered to be the regular concomitant of final redemption, since the Saṃsāra never comes to an end on account of an infinite number of unreleased individual souls). By no means can it be *Apramā*, because final redemption is a state of being absolutely free from even the slightest tinge of error. There can be no discussion about that. On the other hand, to say it is *Pramā* would land us in difficulties too. In the true sense of the word only the Advaitic knowledge of the Brahman is *Pramā*. Nevertheless, with *Pramā* and *Apramā* a complete classification of knowledge is not yet arrived at. Just as a recollection (*Smṛti*) is neither *Pramā* nor *Apramā*, so also the result of our investigation that the direct knowledge of this world after redemption is not *Apramā* does not automatically enforce the conclusion of its being *Pramā*. Prakāśātman has not ventilated his views on these questions which, however, must arise after a careful study of his Vivaraṇa. Therefore we should content ourselves with the result that an experience attributing to this world nothing more than an existence marked by the capacity for practical efficiency is not *Apramā*. It is as little *Apramā* as the knowledge of this world which the Brahman possesses in its capacity as the almighty and omniscient ruler and creator of this universe[2].

Here another delicate problem arises. The Brahman as the omniscient ruler of this world is directly aware of all objects. Consequently it must also have a direct knowledge of the illusory objects which an individual soul may perceive as *e.g.*, the erroneous silver-in-the-shell. Is this direct knowledge of illusory objects by the omniscient Brahman *Pramā* or *Apramā*? This amounts to asking: In how far differs the experience of the individual soul from the experience of the Brahman in this particular case of empirical error?

Before a reply to this question can be given, we must consider the following: Prakāśātman was probably the first Advaitin to maintain that the illusory silver-in-the-shall is not merely "*anirvacanīya*," but something existing (*sat*), though the existence in question here is neither *Paramārtha-sattva* nor

1. Vide *Vivaraṇa* page 758.
2. Vide Klaus Cammann "Das System des Advaita nach der Lehre Prakāśātmans" § 34, § 42 (published : Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1965).

Arthakriyā-sāmarthya-sattva. It is *Avidyôpādhika-sattva*[1]. Yet we may contend that a man being subject to error does not see illusory silver but real silver. In other words he does not see silver marked by *Avidyôpādhika-sattva,* but silver marked by *Paramārtha-sattva* or at least *Arthakriyā-sāmarthya-sattva.* Otherwise he would not hasten and grasp the object in order to enrich himself. Dharmarāja Adhvarin in his *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* categorically rejects the view that in error real silver is perceived[2]. Thus argument faces argument. Dharmarāja Adhvarin as well as Prakāśātman, maintains that in an error we do not see reality in silver, but only the reality of the shell having a close coherence (*Saṃsarga*) with the illusory silver. This close coherence too is not real, but its existence is illusory *i.e., Avidyôpādhika-sattva.* Again it may be contended that one must have seen a *real* coherence of the shell and the silver, because no sensible person would aspire after illusory silver having an illusory coherence with a real object. What can we advance against such an objection? This leads us to the question: Is it possible at all to discern from afar whether an object is endowed with an existence marked by the capacity for practical efficiency or not? In the very case of silver such a decision is impossible *on principle.* We must first take the silver into our hands, and prove its weight and other qualities. Every expert will reject to deliver an opinion whether a particular bracelet consists of real silver or is merely an imitation, before he does not get it into his hands for a very close examination. What holds good for an expert must be still more tri e regarding any ordinary man: He did see silver. But what justification had he to believe that it had been empirically real silver? This was merely a sort of unfounded expectation which unconsciously arose in connection with the perception of silver. We may be adherents of Advaita or not, nevertheless we cannot get away from the above-mentioned fact that no clever man will buy silver bracelets in the market, before closely scrutinizing whether it is real silver or only an illusion of the same *i.e.,* an imitation. What is a self-evident rule among merchants may be evident for philosophers too: From afar both sorts of existenc are alike, and disclose no attribute by which we could discriminate whether an object is marked by *Paramārtha-sattva* (respectively *Arthakriyāsāmarthya-sattva*) or marked by *Avidyôpādhika-sattva* i.e., by illusory existence. Consequently nobody can maintain so firmly that he has seen from afar silver marked by empirical reality. Therefore Prakāśātman's and Dharmarāja Adhvarin's theories can hardly be attacked at least in what concerns their statement that in error we do not see empirically real silver, but only illusory silver having an illusory coherence with an empirically real thing or rather with an absolutely real "this" (*idam*).

Now it is possible to show the difference between the direct experience of the omniscient Brahman and the erring individual soul. Both see the illusory silver as it is. But the Brahman does not attribute empirical reality to it,

1. Vide Ibidem S 7e.
2. Vide *Vedāntaparibhāṣā,* I. Pariccheda 114-115. The Adyar Library Series No. 34 'Adyar, 1942.

whereas the individual soul does so without, in fact, being able to justify this assumption.

It may be asked how the Brahman is able to discern the real existence from the illusory one. Of course, the Brahman is in contact with all objects, but, as we have seen in the case of human beings, often enough they must first resort to experiments in order to discern reality from illusion. The difficulty may be overcome by taking into view the fact that the Brahman in his capacity asomniscient ruler of this world is not only in contact with all things, but is also the creator of the same.

The characteristic of error (*Apramā*) is the fact that its object is subject to sublation (*Bādha*). Either the object totally disappears as in the case of illusory silver or it is realized that a wrong type of existence has been attributed to it as in the case of the world-appearance. In the case of illusory silver the illusory object disappears not only for the individual soul, but also for the omniscient Brahman. Despite that the preceding silver-knowledge of the omniscient Brahman cannot be considered to be an error, since the disappearance of the silver is not effected by a suddenly arising correct knowledge of the omniscient Brahman, but by a suddenly arising correct knowledge of the individual soul. Sublation as an indication of error in a particular subject does not mean that a mere disappearance of the object proves the preceding existence of error in this subject, but a disappearance of the object effected by a knowledge of this very same subject.

As long as the empirical error lasts, the individual soul *believes* that real silver is in front, though, indeed, he does see only illusory silver. Taking this into view we may say : "*Apramā*" is not "*yathārthā*". Our opinion which we form about a particular object, or rather let us say the expectations which we cherish of the same, find no adequate counterpart in the object itself.

Again it may be contended that also a belief in real silver and a corresponding action cannot arise, if real silver is no object of our perception. This argument is not quite conclusive. How often it happens that we believe in a particular jar as having water and are prompted to a consequent action without, in reality, there being any water in it. Here too we cannot say water must have been an object of our perception, because this is impossible *on principle*, since jars are not transparent. What is presented by perception is only a jar and nothing more. What is in this case the cause of this action without a corresponding object? The reply to this question will also answer the question why there can be an action directed to real silver, though only illusory silver is in front of us. Apparently we had not a perception of water whatever, but drawn a *conclusion* that water existed in the jar without having any objective justification to do so.

The knowledge of the omniscient Brahman, however, is always "*yathārtha*" and never "*Apramā*", though it has got a direct knowledge of all empirically real and empirically illusory objects.

Thus, fram the point of view of an objective judgment, we can by all means say that Prakāśātman's theory of the *Paramārtha-sattva*, *Arthakriyā-sāmar-*

thyasattva, and *Avidyô'pādhika-sattva* is consistent, provided we acknowledge his premises.

From the same objective point of view, however, it will not be possible for us to follow Prakāśātman's argumentation in another important question. We have mentioned above that the direct experience of the world does not disclose any sign, whether it is sublatable by knowledge or not. Prakāśātman contends that without resorting to the true knowledge of Brahman our everyday perception of transient objects discloses the possibility of such a sublation. Just as we state: "This is silver" and afterwards : "This is not silver", when we have perceived the real nature of the shell, so also we are obliged to state : " The pot exists " and afterwards : " The pot does not exist ", when a blow of a hammer has smashed it to pieces. Both these couples of judgments—thus Prakāśātman contends—point at the same ontological fact. The judgment : " This is silver " denotes a close coherence (*Saṃsarga*) of the silver with the " this ". In the same way the judgment : " The pot exists " refers to a close coherence of the pot with that thing which is denoted by " exists " (*Asty-artha*). The thing which is denoted by " exists " appears in all judgments by which the " existence " of a thing is expressed : the pot exists, the cloth exists, the house exists etc., etc. Just like the illusory silver and all the other illusory things in this empirical world prove to have a close coherence with the " this " (*idam*).

This thing which is denoted by " exists " is the Brahman, and just as the judgment : "This is not silver" discloses the illusory nature of the silver, so also the judgment : "The pot etc. does not exist" must be considered to be a sort of sublation (*Bādha*) by which the illusory nature of all transient things becomes evident. In this way we see that the real nature of "exists " was not, is not, and will not be pot, cloth, house etc., but is nothing else than mere existence *i.e.*, the Brahman. The pot etc. have as little to do with existence as the illusory silver with the " thisness".[1]

This argumentation of Prakāśātman must be submitted to the following consideration : In the judgment : " The pot exists " we attach no new predicate to the concept of " pot ", but only posit the subject in itself with all its predicates and posit it as being an *object* that stands in relation to my *concept*. The content of both i.e., the content of the object and the content of the concept must be one and the same. The experts of philosophy will have observed that this is the critical voice of *Kant* which has been quoted here with some small alterations.[2] In other words, the judgment : " This is silver " means : " The " this " exists, and silver exists, and both appear as one and the same entity ". But the judgement : " The pot exists " does not mean : " The pot exists" and the "exists" exists and both appear as one and the same entity". In other words, in the judgment : " This is silver " a new predicate is added to the " this ", but nothing similar happens in the judgment : " The pot exists ".

1. Vide : Cammann " Das System des Advaita.... " § 12.
2. Vide : Immanuel Kant's " Critique of Pure Reason " : " The Impossibility of an Ontological Proof of the Existence of God"

If we ponder over these facts, we will be aware that the mentioned argumentations of Prakāśātman can be no gateway to a rational foundation of Advaita which could be sanctioned by theoretical philosophy.

Though, in this way the " Critique of Pure Reason " closes one door, it opens on the other side another one which is much more interesting from the point of view of Advaita. In the Introduction to the " Transcendental Logic" Kant says that our knowledge springs from two fundamental sources of the mind. The first is the capacity of receiving representations (receptivity for impressions), the second is the power of knowing an object through these representations, (spontaneity in the production of concepts). Through the first an object is *given* to us, through the second the object is *thought* in relation to that given representation which is a mere determination of the mind. Intuition and concepts constitute, therefore, the elements of all our knowledge.[1].

Without the spontaneity in the production of concepts there would, so to speak, be only consciousness containing a manifoldness of representations, and the representations would not represent themselves as units which are differentiated the one from the other. The concepts of unity and plurality as well as the negation of one representation in the other belong to the spontaneous source of the mind. We could not even say there is " a " consciousness, because this would mean there is one consciousness which eventually may be juxtaposed to other consciousnesses. The whole world as well as our own personality in this world are not constituted earlier than that they are—as it were—*construed* into the manifoldness of representations by the spontaneity in the production of concepts, particularly by the categories coming into play. It must be stated here that neither the representations nor the construction which the spontaneity of the production of concepts forms with this given material are considered to be an " illusion " by Kant. They are as real as the consciousness in which they are contained, but they are *dependent* on consciousness. Thus the basis of everything is consciousness, though from Kant's " Critique of Pure Reason " it does not become quite clear whether this conciousness is juxtaposed to things in itself being something else than consciousness or not. The only thing which is clear is the fact that resorting to the first part of the alternative would be in heavy contradiation to other fundamental tenets of the " Critique of Pure Reason ". If things in itself are unrecognizable, we can by no means say they are real and are the causes of our sensual impressions, because this would imply extending the use of the categories to the things in itself which according to the " Critique of Pure Reason " is by no means permissible. These questions are of no avail here. One thing, however, is indisputable : According to Kant *time* and *space* belong to the subjective constitution of our mind, apart from which they cannot be ascribed to anything whatsoever. If matters are like that, we must rightly conclude that the conciousness which is the basis of all our knowledge is eternal. It *contains* time and space as forms of intuition, but this consciousness itself is

1. For reference vide *e.g.* : Norman Kemp Smith " Immanuel Kant's Critique of Pure Reason ", page 92, Macmillan and Co., London 1929.

time-less and space-less. It may *contain* changes, but it itself never changes. It is only a witness of the world and of our own individuality both of which are construed into the given manifoldness of representations by the faculty of spontaneity.

It had been Kant's intention to investigate whether it is possible to prove the immortality of the individual soul. He came to the conclusion that from the view-point of Pure Reason such a proof is impossible. It appears Kant had been rather sad at this result. Nevertheless, we can turn the matter as we like it : Not our individuality-this is a mere manifoldness of representations having been subsumed under certain concepts—but the consciousness is immortal which brings these concepts into the representations thus first constituting a world and our individuality in it. On the other hand, we *cannot* say the manifoldness of representations having been brought under certain concepts, thus forming our individuality possessing consciousness, and the consciousness in which this synthesis is done by concepts, are two pairs of boots *i.e.*, two different consciousnesses. If there is any sense in Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason", it rather must be one and the same entity only looked upon from two different points of view.

Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" has been often compared with Advaita. There are a lot of books on this subject.[1] But the *most important point* you find nowhere mentioned, is that the fundamental Advaitic doctrine of the eternal witnessing consciousness is not a sort of vague speculation, but part and parcel, or rather let us say a basic factor of Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason' too.

1. For reference cf. *e.g.* S. Radhakrishnan : "Indian Philosophy" Vol. II, III, VII, XXIV.

ĀDI-ŚAṄKARĀCĀRYA'S TEACHING ON THE MEANS TO MOKṢA: JÑĀNA AND KARMAN*

By

SENGAKU MAYEDA, *Tokyo, Japan*

In his commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* (III, 4) Bhāskara criticizes Śaṅkara's position with regard to *karman* as the means to *mokṣa*. He points out Śaṅkara's self-contradiction that although in his *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya* Śaṅkara admits the necessity of *karman* for the rise of *jñāna*, in his *Upadeśa Grantha* (=*Upadeśasāhasrī* II, 18,222) he advises even the ignorant to renounce *karman* for the purpose of identifying specifically the meaning of the word '*tvam*' in the *mahāvākya* '*tat tvam asi*'.[1] Is Śaṅkara's treatment of *karman* really self-contradictory? If so, how should this contradiction be reasonably explained and interpreted? These topics will be discussed in the following pages.

When Śaṅkara comments on a text like the *Bhagavadgītā* which stresses the *karmayoga* to a considerable degree, he as a *Bhāṣyakāra* may, though unwillingly, have to adopt, or to adjust himself to, the views expressed in it in order not to controvert them. It is, therefore, necessary to make a critical examination of the situation before censuring Śaṅkara by comparing the *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya*[2] with the *Upadeśasāhasrī*[3] which is an independent, non-commentarial work.

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The following abbreviations and editions will be used :

BSBh =Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1934).
GBh =Śaṅkara's *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya* (Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1936).
PBh =Śaṅkara's *Padabhāṣya* (Swami Saccidanandendra Sarasvati : *The Kena Upanishad with Śrī Śaṅkara's Commentaries.* Adhyatma Prakasha Karyalaya, Holenarasipur, 1959).
Upad =Śaṅkara's *Upadeśasāhasrī* (Swāmi Jagadānanda: *Upadeśasāhasrī of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya.* : Sri Ramakrishna Math, Madras 1949.)
VBh =Śaṅkara's *Vākyabhāṣya* (Swami Saccidanandendra Sarasvati: *The Kena Upanishad with Śrī Shankara's Commentaries,* Holenarasipur. 1959).

1. Sarasvatī Bhavana (Benares) Manuscript No. 2517, folio 37. Cf. S. Mayeda : 'The Authenticity of the Upadeśasāhasrī Ascribed to Śaṅkara', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 85 (1965), No. 2, pp. 190-191.

2. For a detailed discussion about Śaṅkara's authorship, see B. Faddegon : *Śaṃkara's Gītābhāṣya, toegelicht an beoordeeld* (Amsterdam, 1906), pp. 63-71 and pp. 95-98 ; W. R. Antarkar : Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's Authorship of the Gītābhāṣya', *Oriental Thought* 6 (1962), pp. 1-26 ; S. Mayeda : 'The Authenticity of the Bhagavadgītābhāṣya Ascribed to Śaṅkara', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd-und Ostasiens* IX (1965), pp. 155-197.

3. When the text is cited in this paper., 'I' denotes the Gadyabandha and 'II', the Padyabandha. For a detailed discussion of Śaṅkara's authorship, see S. Mayeda : ' The Authenticity of the Upadeśasāhasrī Ascribed to Śaṅkara *op. cit.*, pp. 178-196; V. Raghavan, *op. cit.* XI. 1967. pp. 137-9.

In order to arrive at as objective a conclusion as possible regarding Śaṅkara's view of the problem, I would like to take up for examination here the *Upadeśasāhasrī* where Śaṅkara must have expressed his own ideas without reservation and to see, first of all, whether or not Śaṅkara's position is really self-contradictory.

Śaṅkara's view of the means to *mokṣa*, which is essentially based upon his fundamental tenet, *viz.*, the oneness of *Brahman* and *ātman*, should be examined along with his concepts of *saṃsāra* and *mokṣa*, since the three are inseparably related to one another. He speculates on the nature of *saṃsāra* as follows:

कर्माणि देहयोगार्थं देहयोगे प्रियाप्रिये ।
ध्रुवे स्यातां ततो रागो द्वेषश्चैव ततः क्रियाः ॥

—*Upad.* II. 1,3

Karmans are for the purpose of effecting connection with the body. When connection with the body has been effected, pleasant and unpleasant things are inevitable. Therefrom result passion and aversion, therefrom actions.

धर्माधर्मौ ततोऽज्ञस्य देहयोगस्तथा पुनः ।
एवं नित्यप्रवृत्तोऽयं संसारश्चक्रवद्भृशम् ॥

—*Upad.* II. 1,4

[Therefrom] *dharma* and *adharma* ; therefrom results an ignorant man's connection with the body in the same manner again. Thus this *saṃsāra* rolls onward violently for ever like a wheel.

The term *karman* has various meanings in Śaṅkara's works such as are seen in other Indian texts. The term in the first stanza quoted above means the *karmans* as the results of actions, good or bad, in the past existence.[4] The term *kriyā* in the same stanza seems to be used in the sense of action which requires verbal, physical and mental activities,[5] including the *Vedic* rituals.[6] When Śaṅkara takes up *karman* to discuss its nature and value as the means to *mokṣa*, he often uses the term synonymously with *kriyā* in the sense mentioned above.

The *saṃsāra* which Śaṅkara conceives consists in the following cycle[7]: (1) *karmans* as the result of actions in the previous existence—(2) one's connection with the body—(3) experience of pleasure and plain—(4) passion and aversion (=*doṣa*, *Upad.* II. 1,7)—(5) actions (*kriyā*)—(6) *dharma* and *adharma*.

4. *Karman* is said to constitute the efficient cause (*nimittakāraṇa*) for the origination of a new body, BSBh III. 1, 2, p. 597.

5. *Kriyā* here corresponds to 'verbal, mental and physical activities' (*Vāṅmanaḥkāyapravṛtti*, *Upad* I, 3, 112) in the third example of the cycle of *saṃsāra* given in the next paragraph.

6. In the immediately preceding stanza (*Upad.* II. 1, 2), there is an expression : *kriyā sarvā dārāgnyādhānapūrvikāḥ*.

7. This cycle reminds us of *pratītyasamutpāda* of Buddhism which also has *avidyā* as its first factor.

In other words *saṃsāra* is the continuously recurring process of the performance of actions (*karman* or *kriyā*) and experience of their fruits. In this sense it is possible to replace the above cycle of *saṃsāra* by another : doership (*kartṛtva*) and experiencership (*bhoktṛtva*) (*Upad.* I. 2,51 ; II.18,49). The ultimate cause of this *saṃsāra* is *ajñāna* (*Upad.* I.2,110,; II.1,5), which is also called the controller of *saṃsāra* (*niyāmaka*, *Upad.* II,16,61). In another place (*Upad* I,3,112) the cycle[8] is described as: (1) *avidyā*—(2) *doṣas*—(3) verbal, physical and mental activities—(4) accumulation of *karmans* of which the results are desirable, undesirable and mixed. In this way *saṃsāra* can be traced back to *ajñāna* or *avidyā*[8]. *Saṃsāra* is, therefore, said to be nothing but the absence of discriminating knowledge (*aviveka*, *Upad*, II,16,61) concerning *ātman* and non-*ātman*, or to be nothing but *avidyā* (*Upad*, II,18,45). For this reason *mokṣa*, final release from *saṃsāra*, is merely the removal of *avidyā*, or cessation of false superimposition (*mṛṣādhyāsa*, *Upad.* II,16,30) upon *ātman*[9] which is by nature ever-released (*nityamukta*), pure, immovable, changeless, immortal and bodiless (*Upad* II,13,3). Śaṅkara says :

रज्जुसर्पो यथा रज्ज्वा सात्मकः प्राग्विवेकतः ।
अवस्तु सन्नपि ह्येष (=संसारः) कूटस्थेनात्मना तथा ॥

—*Upad* II,18,46

Just as, when there is a rope, a snake, [though not a reality], exists in the rope before there is discrimination [of them], so because of [the existence of] the transcendentally changeless *ātman*, this *saṃsāra*, though not a reality, [exists in *ātman* before the two are discriminated].

According to Śaṅkara's concepts of *saṃsāra* and *mokṣa*, the means to *mokṣa* must be something which leads the aspirant to the cessation of *avidyā*, the nature of which is the mutual superimposition of *ātman* and non-*ātman*.[10] *Karman* (action) arises from the innate conviction " I am an agent. This is mine " (*Upad* II,1,13), which results from a false superimposition of such non-*ātmans* as the body, sense organs and inner organ upon the actionless *ātman*. As is clearly shown in the above cycle of *saṃsāra*, *karman* or *kriyā* has as its cause *ajñāna* (*Upad* II,11,15)[11] which should be annihilated for the sake of *mokṣa*. Use of all the rituals and their requisites such as the sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) is made by those who hold that *ātman* is different from *Brahman* (*Upad* I,1,30-44).

8. Cf. BSBh I, 1, 1, p. 41 ; II, 3, 50 p. 561 ; GBh XVIII, 12, p. 691 ; PBh, Introduction, 4, p. 4 ; VBh, Introduction , 1, p. 61. *Ajñāna* is almost synonymous with *avidyā* but not entirely in Śaṅkara's usage of the term. *Avidyā* has a wider concept than *ajñāna*.

9. Candrakīrti describes *nirvāṇa* as *sarvakalpanākṣayarūpa* in his commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamikakārikā* (Bibliotheca Buddhica IV), p. 524, line 5, etc.

10. *Upad* I, 2, 50-51; BSBh, Introduction, pp. 10-13. Cf. S. Mayeda : 'The Authenticity of the Upadeśasāhasrī Ascribed to Śaṅkara', *op. cit.*, p. 179.

11. GBh IV, 18, pp. 203-204 ; XVIII, p. 756 ; VBh I, 2, 10, p. 68. Cf. S. Mayeda : ' The Authenticity of the Bhagavadgītābhāṣya Ascribed to Śaṅkara', *op cit.*, page 158.

The compound '*avidyā-kāma-karman*' is sometimes used in Śaṅkara's works[12]; *avidyā* causes *kāma* from which *karman* results[13]. *Karman* does not contradict *avidyā* but it is of the same nature. Therefore, *karman* cannot be the means to *mokṣa*. Furthermore, the result from *karman* is not *mokṣa* but something non-eternal (*Upad* II,17,8) to be produced, to be obtained, to be changed and to be purified (*Upad* II,17,50)[14]. For the above reasons *karman* of any kind should be abandoned (*Upad* I,1,32 ; II,1,15 ; 1,21 ; 17,50 ; 18,222). There is no hope of attainment of immortality from *karman* (*Upad* II,1,15).

It is only *jñāna* or *vidyā* and nothing else that by nature contradicts *ajñāna* or *avidyā*. Only the *jñāna* of the identity of *ātman* with *Brahman* can be the means to *mokṣa* (*Upad* II,1,6-7). It is called the supreme purification (*paramaṃ pāvanam*, *Upad* II,16,71), since it enables the aspirant to be free from various evils. Śaṅkara enthusiastically advises the aspirant to be firmly established in the way of knowledge (*jñānapatha*, *Upad* II,16,68).

Jñāna is incompatible not only with *ajñāna* but also with *karman*. Realization of the nature of *ātman* results only if there is cessation of *karman* (*Upad* II,17, 49). From this viewpoint Śaṅkara also refutes *jñānakarmasamuccayavāda* (*Upad* II,1,8 ; 1,9 ; 1,11). *Jñāna* depends upon reality (*vastvadhīna*) whereas an injunction to perform *karman* depends upon an agent (*kartradhīna*, *Upad* II,1,13), and the existence of an agent results from superimposition of non-*ātman* upon *ātman* through *avidyā*. Śaṅkara says:

विरुद्धत्वादतः शक्यं कर्म कर्तुं न विद्यया ।
सहैवं विदुषा तस्मात्कर्म हेयं मुमुक्षुणा ॥

Upad II,1,15

Because action and knowledge are incompatible, therefore, one who knows so cannot perform action together with knowledge. For this reason action should be renounced by a seeker after final release.

अहं ब्रह्मास्मि कर्ता च भोक्ता चास्मीति ये विदुः ।
ते नष्टा ज्ञानकर्मभ्यां नास्तिकाः स्युर्न संशयः ॥

—*Upad* II,11,

Those who know, "I am *Brahman*" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* I,4,10) and "I am doer and experiencer" are deprived of both knowledge and action ; they would be heretics, no doubt.

Thus the value of *karman* as the means to *mokṣa* is denied and even *samuccayavāda* is also rejected by Śaṅkara. When Śaṅkara explains how one knows

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12. *Upad* II, 15, 21; BSBh I, 2, 17, p. 181; GBh XIV, 3, p. 589 ; PBh IV 9, 67, p. 60 ; Śaṅkara on *Muṇḍaka Up.* III, 1, 1. Cf. P. Hacker : 'Eigentümlich keiten der Lehre und Terminologie Śaṅkaras : Avidyā, Nāmarūpa, Māyā, Īśvara,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gosellschaft* 100 (1950), p. 249.

13. Cf. S. Radhakrishnan : *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II (London, 1958), p. 623.

14. Cf. T. M. P. Mahadevan : *The Philosophy of Advaita* (Madras, 1957), pp. 257-258.

one's *ātman* from sentences of the *Śruti*, he relies upon the well-known illustration [15] of the ten boys who crossed a river. One of the ten boys failed to count himself and thought one boy was missing. But, when he was told, " You are the tenth", he realized immediately that he was the tenth. In like manner one attains true knowledge of *Brahman-ātman* from such sentences of the *Śrutis* as " *tat tvam asi* ". This is a logical conclusion from Śaṅkara's position.

Nevertheless, though Śaṅkara in the *Upad* (II,17,21) says that *vidyā* is realization of the identity of *Brahman* and *ātman* and states that this is strongly affirmed in the *Śruti*, he goes on to prescribe the performance of a *nityakarman* and *yajña* and the observance of *yama*, *niyama*, *tapas*, *samādhāna*, *dehaviśoṣaṇa*, *aikāgrya* and the like (*Upad* II, 17,22-24). Indeed he rejects the opinion that *prasaṃkhyāna* should be observed until *ātman* is apprehended (*Upad* II,—18,9ff.), but he describes *parisaṃkhyāna* in the chapter entitled ' *Parisaṃkhyāna* ' in the *Upad* (I, 3,112) on behalf of seekers after final release who devote themselves to the destruction of their acquired *puṇya* and *apuṇya* and do not wish to accumulate more of them. And he advises the wise man to perform *parisaṃkhyāna*.[16] Whatever difference Śaṅkara may recognize between *prasaṃkhyāna* and *parisaṃkhyāna*[17], it is unqustionable that both of them are not *jñāna* but a kind of *karman*. If the *Upad.* were a commentary, like the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, on some text or other, Śaṅkara might have been compelled to recommend *karman* though it was against his will. However, the *Upad.* is not a commentary on any text. Therefore, it is certainly an expression of his own view that Śaṅkara insists on a complete renunciation of *karman* and at the same time recommends the aspirant to perform *karman* including even *nityakarman* and *yajña*.

Our examination has revealed that Śaṅkara's treatment of *karman* is self-contradictory. It is, however, not likely that Śaṅkara contradicts himself unknowingly. Probably he does so purposely. Then to achieve what purpose does he knowingly sacrifice logical and theoretical consistency ?

One of the most influential schools of philosophy at Śaṅkara's time was the Mīmāṃsā to which belonged Kumārila (650-700)[18] and Prabhākara (700).[18] Especially Maṇḍanamiśra, who must have been a younger contem-

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15. *Upad* II, 18, 174 ; 176 ; 189 ; 192 ; 202. Cf. Śaṅkara on *Brahadāraṇyaka Up.* I, 4, 7 ; Śaṅkara on *Taittirīya Up.* II, 1 ; *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* III, 64-71 ; *Saṃbandhavārttika* 206-216 ; *Pañcadaśī* VII, 57 ff. and 247 ff. For parallel stories in Indian folk tales, see S. Thompson and W. E. Roberts : *Types of Indic Oral Tales* (FF Communications No. 180), Type No. 1287. *Numsukulls Unable to Count their own Number.*

16. *Parisaṃkhyāna* is mentioned as something which Śaṅkara recommends in PBh I, 5, 29 p. 24.

17. As far as I know, the difference between the two concepts, *prasaṃkhyāna* and *parisaṃkhyāna*, is not explained in Śaṅkara's writings. An example of *parisaṃkhyāna* is given in *Upad* I, 3.

18. For the date of Kumārila, see H. Nakamura : *Shoki no Vedānta Tetsugaku* (=Early Vedānta Philosophy) (Tokyo, 1950), pp. 107-115 ; H. Nakamura : *Indo Shisoshi* (=A History of Indian Thought) (Tokyo, 1956), p. 179 is relied upon for the date of Prabhākara. Cf. S. Kuppuswami Sastri : *Brahmasiddhi* by *Ācārya Maṇḍanamiśra* (Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Series No. 4), pp. lvii-lviii.

porary of Kumārila and Prabhākara and an elder contemporary of Śaṅkara, was recognized as a high authority on the Mīmāṃsā among Advaitins as well as Mīmāṃsakas. As the author of the *Brahmasiddhi*, he played a significant role in the history of the Advaita doctrine.[19] Sureśvara, who was the most faithful exponent of Śaṅkara's philosophy and seems to have attacked Maṇḍana's position[20], is traditionally said to have been converted from the Mīmāṃsā to Advaita by Śaṅkara.[21] Judging from Śaṅkara's writings, the Mīmāṃsā was no doubt a chief target of his severe attack. Radhakrishnan remarks[22] :

> " His (=Śaṅkara's) denial of the adequacy of works to salvation is a reaction against the exaggerated emphasis which Mīmāṃsakas place on Vedic ritualism."

This is of course true and by this theory " Śaṅkara's unnecessary emphasis on the futility of the *karmamārga* for the final end of perfection "[22] may be explicable. However, this theory is not enough to explain why Śaṅkara dares to contradict himself with regard to the problem of *karman*. We must adopt another point of view.

The Mīmāṃsā had experienced significant development in its doctrine by the time of Śaṅkara. Jaimini and Śabara did not pay attention to the problem of *mokṣa* but later writers of the school had to take it into consideration Jaimini and Śabara pointed out only the way to a life in the heaven and emphasized the performance of the Vedic rites. Kumārila[23], Prabhākara[24] and Maṇḍana[25] advocated their own *samuccayavāda* as the way to *mokṣa*. Though not much is known of theories concerning this problem which were proposed by Vedāntins before Śaṅkara, the *Brahmaśūtra* itself stands in the tradi-

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19. Cf. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. lvii-lxxv. It is to be noted here that in his *Brahmasiddhi* (pp. 32 ff.) Maṇḍana attacks a view of the relation between *jñāna* and *karman* which may well be Śaṅkara's.

20. For example, Sureśvara refutes repeatedly *prasaṃkhyānavāda* which may have been advocated by Maṇḍana. See *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* I, 67 ; III, 82, 88, 89, 123-126 ; *Saṃbandhavārttika*, 818-849 ; S. Kuppuswami Sastri *op. cit.*, pp. xxvi, xxi ; xxxiii-xxxvi.

21. The Maṇḍana-Sureśvara equation has been denied by such able scholars as M. Hiriyanna, S.Kuppuswami Sastri and S.Dasgupta but they do not deny that Sureśvara was once a Mīmāṃsaka. Cf. T. M. P. Mahadevan: *The Saṃbandha-Vārttika of Sureśvarācārya* (Madras University Philosophical Series No. 6), pp. xi-xii.

22. S. Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 627-628.

23. Cf. Radhakrishnan, *op cit.*, pp. 423-424 ; M. Hiriyanna : The *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi of Sureśvarācārya* (Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series No. XXXVIII, 1925), p. xxii, note 1 ; G. Jha : *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā in Its Sources* (Benares, 1942), pp. 37-38.

24. Cf. S. Radhakrishnan, *op .cit.*, page 423 ; G. Jha, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

25. M. Hiriyanna, *op. cit.*, pp. xxv-xxvii ; S. Kuppuswami Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. xxviii-xxxi ; xxxiii-xxxvi. Maṇḍana refers to seven different theories of the problem of the relation of *jñāna* and *karman* in his *Brahmasiddhi*, p. 26, line 24, p. 28, line 7. It is said that Brahmadatta is also a *samuccayavādin* and was criticized by Sureśvara. Cf. The *Saṃbandhokti* to *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* I, 67 ; M. Hiriyanna, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiii-xxv.

tion of *samuccayavāda*. Ṭaṅka (Brahmānandin)[26] and Bhartṛprapañca[27] were *samuccayavādins*. Bhāskara also expounded *samuccayavāda* probably soon after Śaṅkara's death. It is highly probable that *samuccayavāda* in many varieties was prevalent among Mīmāṃsakas and Vedāntins while Śaṅkara was active. Śaṅkara, therefore, seems to have taught his teachings to, or fought against, mostly those who held various types of *samuccayavāda*; the Sāṃkhya had already lost its vitality and Buddhism was also on the wane.

In the *Upad* (II,1,2)[28] Śaṅkara sets forth the following requirements to be met by a seeker after final release before he is initiated into the *jñāna* of *Brahman-ātman* by his *guru* :

1. He must be dispassionate towards all things non-eternal which one attains by means other than *jñāna*.

2. He must have abandoned the desire for sons, wealth and worlds and reached the state of a *paramahaṃsaparivrājaka*.

3. He must be endowed with tranquillity, self-control and the like.

4. He must be possessed of the qualities of a student, which are well-known from the scriptures.

5. He must be a Brahman[29] who is internally and externally pure.

6. His caste, profession, behaviour, knowledge and family must have been examined.

7. He must approach his *guru* in the prescribed manner.

These requirements indicate that Śaṅkara's teachings are meant for selected Brahmans who have become *paramahaṃsaparivrājakas*.[30] In order to be *paramahaṃsaparivrājakas* they must have fulfilled a number of *karmans* prescribed for their particular caste, *āśramas* and the like. Some of them were Mīmāṃsakas. Others were Vedāntins who had adopted *samuccayavāda*. Some others were Yogins, or followers of different creeds.

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26. H. Nakamura : *Vedānta Tetsugaku no Hatten* (=The Development of the Vedānta Philosophy) (Tokyo, 1955), pp. 116-117.

27. H. Nakamura : *Vedānta Tetsugaku no Hatten*, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-187. Cf. M. Hiriyanna : ' Fragments of Bharatṛprapañca ', *Proc.* III *OC* (Madras, 1924), pp. 439-450 ; M. Hiriyanna : *The Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, *op. cit.*, pp. xvii-xxx ; E. Kanakura : *Vedānta Tetsugaku no Kenkyu* (=A Study on the Vedānta Philosophy) (Toyko, 1932), pp. 24-102.

28. Cf. *Upad* II, 13, 27 ; 16, 7 ; 17, 53 ; 17, 86 ; 17, 87.

29. Śaṅkara affirms that only *Brāhmaṇas* can be sannyāsins in his commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, III, 5, 1, and IV, 5, 15. Most of the medieval writers on *Dharmaśāstra* support this opinion. But Sureśvara is against Śaṅkara's position in this respect. Cf. P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pt. II (Poona, 1941), pp. 943-944.

30. Cf. P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 939 ff. However, when Śaṅkara illustrates his teaching method in the second chapter of the prose part, he gives an example of a brahmacārin and his *guru* (*Upad* I, 2, 45). The requirement of being a *paramahaṃsaparivrājaka* might not be very strict.

Śaṅkara does not explain how the aspirant can meet all the above requirements. In his *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (I,1,1) he sets forth the four conditions to be met before one undertakes the enquiry into *Brahman* but, here again, he does not show how these conditions can be met. But it is impossible to think of anything else other than *karman* as the means by which to meet the requirements. Śaṅkara explains what *gurus* should do, when they have begun to teach *jñāna* to their pupils and see signs that their pupils do not grasp it. The causes which prevent pupils from attaining *jñāna* are *adharma*, worldly laxity, absence of firm preliminary learning concerning the discrimination between eternal and non-eternal things, care about people's opinion, pride of caste, and so forth. Śaṅkara instructs *gurus* to remove those causes by means of non-anger, etc., *yama* and *niyama* and to help their pupils achieve virtues, such as modesty, which are the means to *jñāna* (*Upad* I, 1, 4-5). This instruction suggests that the aspirant must have been strongly urged to perform various kinds of *karman* in order to fulfil the above-mentioned requirements.

Thus, when the aspirant starts receiving Śaṅkara's teaching of the *jñāna Brahman-ātman*, his burning concern must previously have been with the performance of *karman ;* he might also have acquired from the study of the *Veda* some knowledge of *Brahman* and *ātman*, which might be different from Śaṅkara's. His attachment to that *karman* which has as its basis his knowledge of *Brahman* and *ātman* must sometimes have been too strong for him to understand Śaṅkara's doctrine, *i.e.*, the complete identity of *Brahman* and *ātman*. In the prose part of the *Upad*. Śaṅkara illustrates the teaching method, using the example of a pupil and his *guru*. The pupil is a Brahman's son who has become a *paramahaṃsaparivrājaka* (*Upad*. I,1,10). After he has been taught by his *guru* through the use of many *Śruti* and *Smṛti* passages that he (=*ātman*) is identical with *Brahman* and that he himself is free from caste, family and purificatory ceremonies, he raises the objection with his *guru*, " I am different [from *ātman*]—I am a non-knower, I experience pleasure and pain, am bound and a transmigrator; [and] *ātman* is different [from me]—*ātman* is essentially different from me, it is a god (*deva*) not subject to transmigration. By worshipping It with oblation, offerings, homage and the like and through the [*performance of*] the *karmans* prescribed for my *varṇa* and *āśrama*, I wish to get out of the ocean of *saṃsāra*. How am I It ?" (*Upad* I,1,25). It is highly probable that a pupil of this type was typical at Śaṅkara's time. Śaṅkara's teaching requires his pupils to make a total change in their views of life. In such a case one of the most effective teaching methods is to give a great shock to the pupils through a radical negation of *karman*, which they have been considering their most important duty and which has its origin in the view that *ātman* is different from *Brahman*. He then leads them to the realization of the oneness of *Brahman* and *ātman*. Śaṅkara's drastic denial of *karman* and *samuccayavāda* seems to have been shocking enough to give them insight into the nature of *ātman*.

However, the performance of *karman* must have been tacitly understood to be indispensable for *mokṣa*. In fact Śaṅkara considers at least *niyama* to

be compatible with *jñāna* (*Upad* I, 1, 4), though it is unquestionably a *karman*[31]. Moreover, the *Upad* (I, 17, 44) says that there is *karman* only before acquisition of the *Jñāna* of *ātman*, since a firm belief 'You are that' removes such notions as that one belongs to a certain caste and the like, which are indispensable to the performance of *karman*. This statement is indeed negative but it implies paradoxically a positive meaning that *karman* should be performed before one can achieve cessation of *avidyā*. Before the cessation of *avidyā*, *yama*, *niyama* *nityakarman* and even *yajña*[32] should be observed to purify the mind, since *jñāna* appears when the mind becomes pure like a mirror (*Upad* II, 17, 22). According to Śaṅkara, the cessation of *avidyā* is nothing but *mokṣa*. Practically speaking, therefore, the aspirant should perform *karman* until his attainment of *mokṣa*. Moral and ethical perfection is not Śaṅkara's chief topic. This is not because he denies it but, rather, because he transcends it. He considers it to be a matter of course. He says:

यथेष्टाचरणप्राप्तिः संन्यासादिविधौ कुतः ।
पदार्थाज्ञानबुद्धस्य वाक्यार्थानुभवार्थिनः ॥

—*Upad* II, 18, 229.

Why does one behave as one pleases when renunciation and the like are enjoined, if one has been awakened from ignorance of the meaning of the words [of the sentences of the *Śruti*] and is seeking to apprehend the meaning of the sentences?

क्षुधया पीड्यमानोऽपि न विषं ह्यत्तुमिच्छति ।
मिष्टान्नध्वस्ततृड् जानन्नामूढस्तं जिघत्सति ॥

—*Upad* II, IY, 232.

Even if he is suffering from hunger, he certainly does not want to eat poison. Nobody whose thirst has already been appeased with sweet food knowingly wants to eat it unless he is foolish.

Śaṅkara's teaching concerning the way to *mokṣa* is theoretically and logically self-contradictory here and there, but it is practically very effective if we take into consideration the background of his pupils. Śaṅkara gives his pupils a sudden revolutionary change of world view by uprooting the foundation of their views so that they may easily be led into a totally new one. As in the case of other great religious teachers like the Buddha, Śaṅkara's primary concern is with the salvation of people who are suffering from *saṃsāra* here in the present world and not with the establishment of a philosophical system. He says, "......when *vidyā* is firmly grasped. it conduces to one's own beatitude (*śreyas*) and to the continuity [of *vidyā*]. And the continuity of *vidyā* is helpful to people as a boat is helpful to one wishing to get across a river" (*Upad* I, 1, 3). Philosophy is not his aim but his vital weapon with which to

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31. Śaṅkara in his BSBh (I, 1, 4, p. 83) refutes the opinion that *jñāna* itself is an activity of the mind (*mānasī kriyā*).

32. *Śraddhā* and *bhakti* are also recommended by Śaṅkara in *Upad* II, 16, 67.

fulfil his aim, viz., salvation of people. Logic and theory are subordinate to this end. As Hacker[33] and Ingalls[34] have pointed out with regard to Śaṅkara's treatment of the problem of *avidyāśraya*, his teaching is not philosophically exact but pedagogically and psychologically impressive; his approach to truth is religious rather than logical or philosophical, since his truth, the highest *ātman* is beyond the range of *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and the other *pramāṇas*. When he teaches, he does not aim at logical thoroughness and precision of theoretical consistency. Instead he aims at the highest possible effectiveness in instruction, as we can see especially in the prose part of the *Upad.* which seems to reflect the actual interchange of question and answer between Śaṅkara and his pupils.

33. P. Hacker, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

34. D. H. H. Ingalls : 'Saṃkara on the Question : Whose Is Avidyā?', *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. III (1953), No. 1 pp. 69-72.

PĀŚUPATA AND SĀṂKHYA - YOGA

By
Minoru Hara, *Tokyo*

I

Several passages of Classical Sanskrit Literature enumerate the Pāśupata together with Sāṃkhya and Yoga as the prevalent schools of thought (*jñāna*)[1].

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1. *Mahābhārata* 12. 337. 59 (Poona Edition). :
sāṃkhyam yogaḥ pañcarātraṃ vedāḥ pāśupataṃ tathā |
jñānāny etāni rājarṣe viddhi nānā-matāni vai ||

Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa ;
sāṃkhyaṃ yogaṃ pañcarātraṃ śaivaṃ pāśupatam tathā |
kṛtānta-pañcakaṃ viddhi brahmaṇaḥ parimārgaṇe || (1. 74. 34)
sāṃkhya-yogaḥ pañcarātraṃ vedāḥ pāśupataṃ tathā |
kṛtānta-pañcakaṃ hy etac chāstrāṇi vividhāni ca || (2. 22. 133-134)
saṃkarṣaṇaḥ pañcarātram rudraḥ pāśupataṃ tathā |
pātañjalam anantaś ca sāṃkhyaṃ ca kapilo muniḥ || (3. 73. 48)

(Cf. R. C. Hazra, " The Viṣṇudharmottara, an Encyclopaedic Work of the Gupta Period (400-500 A.D.), '*Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. 3, 1952, pp. 39-64, and K. K. Bhattacarya, *Les religions brahmaniques dans l'ancien Cambodge* (Paris, 1960) p. 43.

Agni Purāṇa 219. 61. :
sāṃkhyaṃ yogaḥ pāśupatam vedā vai pañcarātrakam |
kṛtāntapañcakaṃ hy etad gāyatrī ca śivā tathā ||

Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā 11. 57-64. :
tatakṣa bhagavān pūrvam apāntar atapā muniḥ || (57)
harer vācyayānaḥ putro yāvad āttaṃ ca vai tataḥ |
udabhūt tatra dhī-rūpam ṛg-yajuḥ-sāma-saṁkulam || (58)
viṣṇu-saṃkalpa-sambhūtam etad vācyayāneritam |
tatakṣa kapilaḥ śāstrād yāvad aṃśam udāra-dhīḥ || (59)
tat sāṃkhyaṃ bhagavat-chāstram prasamkhyāna-parāyaṇam |
hiraṇya-garbho lokādir yat tatakṣādi-śāsanāt || (60)
yamādy-aṅgam abhūd etad divyam yogānuśāsanam |
ahaṃ tatakṣa yac chāstrād aṃśān nānā-vratākulāt || (61)
abhūt pāśupatākhyaṃ tat paśu-pāśa-vimocanam |
ṣaḍ-āgama-mayāt tasmāt kevalād divya-śāsanāt || (62)
nirmame sāram uddhṛtya svayaṃ viṣṇur asamkulam |
tat para-vyūha-vibhava-svabhāvādi-nirūpaṇam || (63)
pañcarātrāhvayaṃ tantram mokṣaika-phala-lakṣaṇam |

Sārasvata Stotra as quoted by Kṣemarāja on *Stavacintāmaṇi* 16 :
yad uktaṃ sārasvate stotre—
trayī sāṃkhyaṃ yogaḥ paśupati-mataṃ vaiṣṇavam iti
prabhinne prasthāne param idam adaḥ pathyam iti ca |
rucīnāṃ vaicitryād ṛju-kuṭila-nānā-patha-juṣām
nṛṇām eko gamyas tvam asi payasām arṇava iva ||
(Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies 10, p. 26, lines 4-7)

Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā 12. 1 :
trayī sāṃkhyaṃ tathā yoga-śāstram pāśupataṃ tathā |
sāttvataṃ ceti tad rūpaṃ stotum icchāmy aham prabho ||

According to another group of passages, the followers of the Pāśupata seem to have shared a fate with those of the Sāṃkhya and Yoga in being condemned by the orthodox philosophers as heretics[2], criticized by Buddhists as holding wrong views[3] and excluded from society by Smṛti writers as untouchables[4]. A reader of those passages has naturally an impression that the Pāśupata school partook of the same lot together wish Sāṃkhya and Yoga for better or for worse.

In addition to this external textual evidence we have internal evidence within the Pāśupata writings. Kauṇḍinya, the commentator of the P (āśupata) S (ūtra) who may have lived about the fifth or sixth centuries, took advantage of the Sāṃkhya philosophy for the formation of his own doctrine[5]. Moreover, the famous three-fold classification of suffering (*duḥkha*), which is first mentioned in *Sāṃkhya Kārikā*, is repeatedly met with in the Pāśupata writings[6].

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2. Kumārila's *Tantravārttika*, (Banares Sanskrit Series 25, p. 114, lines 22 ff.)
trayī-viparītāsambaddha-dṛṣṭa-śobhādi-pratyakṣānumānopamānārthāpatti-prāyayukti-mūlopanibaddhāni sāṃkhya-yoga-pāñcarātra-pāśupata-śākya-nirgrantha-parigṛhīta-dharmādharma-nibandhanāni I

3. *Sagātaka* of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, (B. Nanjio Ed. p. 342). (10. 627)
sāṃkhyā vaiśeṣikā nagnā viprāḥ pāśupatās tathā I
asad-sad-dṛṣṭi-patitā viviktārtha-vivarjitāḥ II

4. *Smṛti-candrikā* (Government Oriental Library Series, Mysore 44, p. 310)
bauddhān pāśupatān jaiñān lokāyatika-kāpilān I
vikarmasthān dvijān spṛṣṭvā sacelo jalam āviśet II
kāpālikāṃs tu saṃspṛśya prāṇāyāmo' 'dhiko mataḥ I

(Cf. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs,* Dacca, 1940, p. 201 and P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Part 2, Poona 19, p. 169).

5. Cf. for example, J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens* (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 214, "*Kaundinya, der der erste Pāṣupata gewesen sein dürfte, der seine bis dahin sich in Werk und " Meditation " erschopfende Religion zu einem philosophisch fundierten System entwickelte und dabei mit bewunderungswurdiger Konsequenz die ursprünglich grössenteils atheistischen Philosopheme anderer Schulen zum Aufbau seines realistischen Monotheismus einsetzte stutzte sich dabei hauptsächlich auf Sāṃkhya, Yoga und Vaiśeṣika.*"

6. *Kim eteṣām ādhyātmikādhibhautikādhidaivikānām sarva-duḥkhānām aikāntiko'tyantiko vyapoho'sty uta neti* (p. 4, lines 8-10) I *ihādhyātmikādhibhautikādhidaivikānāṃ sarva-dvandvādvandvānāṃ manasi śarīre ca upanipatitānāṃ sahiṣṇutvam apratīkāraś ceti yasmāt kṛto* ('*to*)' *trākrodhaḥ tantre siddhaḥ* (p. 25, lines 8-10) I

nāyānty (?)-*ādhyātmikādhibhautikādhidaivikās teṣāṃ svaśāstroktena akurvatāṃ tapo niṣpadyate* (p. 69, lines 4-6) I
tayos (=go-dharma and mṛga-dharma) *tu sati dharma-bahutve samāno dharmo gṛhyate, ādhyātmikādi-dvandva-sahiṣṇutvam* (p. 121, lines 3-4) I
duḥkhānām ity atra prasiddhāni duḥkhāny ādhyātmikādhibhautikādhidaivikāni (p. 141, lines 10-13) I

tathānyad api tri-vidhaṃ duḥkhaṃ bhavati I *Ādhyātmikam ajñānam puruṣe, ādhibhautikaṃ viṣayitvam, ādhidaivikaṃ ca paśutvaṃ trividham aparam prāhuḥ* (p. 143, lines 12-13) I

Despite this closeness which the Pāśupata held to Sāṃkhya and Yoga, the former seems to have tried to distinguish itself from the latter two. In Kauṇḍinya's work especially we notice that Sāṃkhya and Yoga are the schools of thought to which his criticism is mainly directed and against which the Pāśupata claims its superiority.

Below, we shall collect from Kauṇḍinya's *Bhāṣya* and the *Ratnaṭīkā* of Bhāsarvajña those passages in which these Pāśupata writers looked down upon Sāṃkhya and Yoga, and shall see how the concepts peculiar to Sāṃkhya and Yoga are treated in the monotheistic framework of the Pāśupata Śaivism.

II

The means (*sādhana*) to the attainment of the goal as held by Pāśupata school is distinguished from that which is taught in Sāṃkhya and Yoga. On equating *vikaraṇa* (without instruments)[7] with *kaivalya* (perfect isolation), Kauṇḍinya introduces a question.

āha—aviśeṣād iha sāṃkhya-yogādīnām api sahaiśvaryeṇa kārya-karaṇa-tyāgaṃ kṛtvā kaivalya-niṣṭhe | ihāpi ca śāstre | kathaṃ tasmād aviśeṣaḥ ? atha matiḥ niratiśaye mokṣe nāsti vaiṣamyaṃ, tathāpy atidānādibhiḥ sādhya-sādhana-niṣṭhāto 'tha viśeṣaḥ ucyate | nāviśeṣaḥ (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 143, p. 45, lines 13-16).

("The question is raised) because then there would be no difference. In other systems such as the Sāṃkhya and Yoga, etc., the state of perfect isolation (*kaivalya*) together with sovereignty (*aiśvarya*) is attained by the abandoning of effects and instruments; and just the same is taught here also in this scripture. (Answer) How does it follow from this that there is no difference? If you think that all things are the same in absolute release there is still a difference in regard to the means, viz., transcendent giving (*atidāna*), etc., by which the goal is reached. So we say there is not 'no difference'."

Granting that the goal is the same, the means of attaining the goal are different[8]. Transcendent giving (*atidāna*), transcendent sacrifics (*atiyajana*) and transcendent asceticism (*atitāpa*) are peculiar to Pāśupata Śaivism and these are totally foreign to the Sāṃkhya and Yoga.

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7. PS. 1. 25 (*vikaraṇaḥ*), together with PS. 1. 23 (*manojavitvam*), should be compared with *Yoga Sūtra* 3. 48.

tato manojavitvaṃ vikaraṇa-bhāvaḥ pradhāna-jayaś ca |

Vyāsa comments on this sūtra as follows—

kāyasyānuttamo gati-lābho manojavitvam, videhānām indriyāṇām abhipreta-deśa-kāla-viṣayāpekṣo vṛtti-lābho vikaraṇa-bhāvaḥ |

8. Cf. RT. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 15) p. 22, lines 5-6.

lābhānām upāya ity etad gamyamānārthavyāpy abhidhānaṃ śāstrāntaroktānām mokṣopāyānām anupāyatva-jñāpanārtham |

" Means of the Attainments : This express mention of what may be understood from what has already been said is for the purpose of showing that the means of (attaining) release taught in other scriptures are the wrong means."

Now if the means are different from and transcendent to the ordinary means taught in the Sāṃkhya and Yoga, the goal which is to be attained by these means is naturally different from and transcendent to the ordinary goal. Kauṇḍinya deals with this matter by first raising questions and then by answering them.

āha-atidānādi-niṣpannena prakṛṣṭena tapasāsya brāhmaṇasya kā gatir bhavatīti ucyate-abhyudaya-kaivalya-vyatirekeṇa

ATYĀGATIṂ GAMAYATE (PS. 2. 17)

................*sāṃkhya-yogābhyudayādi-gati-viśeṣa-viśeṣitatvād upariṣṭād vartata ity arthaḥ* (p. 69, line 15-p. 70, line 2) |

" (Question) What goal does the brahmin achieve with the extra asceticism produced by his transcendent giving, etc. ?

(Answer) As distinguished from success (*abhyudaya*: Sāṃkhya) and perfection (lit. isolation, *kaivalya*: Yoga).

......The sense is that he attains a higher goal, for it is distinguished from particular goals as the success, etc., promised by the Sāṃkhya and Yoga."

As is stated above, the goal to which the Pāśupata aspirant is led (*atigati*) is distinguished from those taught in the Sāṃkhya and Yoga, and superior to success (*abhyudaya*) and perfect isolation (*kaivalya*).

The Pāśupata aspirant who has attained the transcendent goal (*atigati*) by the transcendent means and thus is united with God (*Yukta*) outshines all the gods beginning with Brahman. Then, it is needless to say that he outshines those who are released (*mukta*) according to the Sāṃkhya and Yoga. While commenting on PS. 5. 40 Kauṇḍinya gives a remark as follows:

āha—atha sāṃkhya-yoga-muktāḥ kiṃ na viśeṣitāḥ? | *ucyate-viśeṣitāḥ* | *katham? tad-jñānātiśayāt* | *katham?* | *sāṃkhya-yoga-muktāḥ kaivalya-gatāḥ svātma-parātma-jñāna-rahitāḥ sammūrcchitavat sthitāḥ* / *asya tu jñānam asti*[9] (p. 140, lines 10-13) |

" (Question) Are not those who are released according to the Sāṃkhya and Yoga outshone by him (Pāśupata aspirant who is united)?

(Answer) They are.

(Question) How ?

(Answer) Because he excels them in knowledge.

(Question) How so ?

(Answer) Those who are released according to the Sāṃkhya and Yoga and who have attained isolation (*kaivalya*) lack knowledge of themselves or of anyone else, and remain like persons in a swoon. He (the Pāśupata *yukta*), on the contrary, has knowledge."

Even in the state of being released and united with God the Pāśupata aspirant has knowledge. In contrast to him, those who are released according to the Sāṃkhya and Yoga are here mocked at as those who are in a swoon (*sammūrcchitavat*).

Thus, those who consider themselves as having attained the goal and as being released according to the means taught in the Sāṃkhya and Yoga are

9. Pāśupata released soul is furnished with knowledge even at the time of being united with God. Cf. PS. 5. 37-38 (*samcittam sthāpayitvā ca rudre*), and PS. 5, 40 (*apramādī gacched duḥkhānām antam īśa-prasādāt*).

misled. In the *avatarana* and commentary on PS. 5. 8, Kauṇḍinya manifestedly looks down upon the Sāṃkhya and Yoga.

āha-anyatra sāṃkhya-yogādīnām asaṅgādı-yuktāḥ muktāḥ śāntim prāptāḥ | *nirabhılapyā muktā ity ucyante yukta eva na mukta*[10] *iti kva siddham* ?

tad ucyate-iha yasmād āha

RUDRAḤ PROVĀCA TĀVAT (5. 8)

. . . . *evaṃ yat sāṃkhyaṃ yogaś ca varṇayati asaṅgādi-yuktāḥ muktāḥ śāntim prāptā iti, tad aviśuddhaṃ teṣāṃ darśanam taimirikasya cakṣuṣaś candra-darśanam* | *ayaṃ tu yukta eva na mukta iti viśuddham etad darśanaṃ draṣṭavyam* (p. 115, lines 4-13) |

" (Question) Elsewhere, in the teachings of the Sāṃkhya and Yoga, etc., (it is claimed that) those who are united with (or disciplined by) non-attachment, etc., are released and attain peace. By " released " they mean faultless. How is it established that (they are wrong and that) such (a man) is united (or disciplined) only and is not released?

(Answer) (It is established) here (in our scripture). For the scripture says:

(BECAUSE) RUDRA PROCLAIMED JUST THIS (5.8)

. . . . . . Now, regarding the term' *Proclaimed:* what the Sāṃkhya and Yoga thus say, namely, that those who are united with (or disciplined by) non-attachment, etc., are released and attain peace, this is a false view on their part. It is like the seeing of (two) moons by a man with an astigmatism. The correct view is that he (who is united) is simply united and is not (yet) released.

Here we see that the views of Sāṃkhya and Yoga are criticised as false as *taimirika.*

Thus, those who are released according to the Sāṃkhya and Yoga are not exactly the released souls in the Pāśupata sense of the term. In discussing the category of cattle (*paśu*), that is the soul to be released by the grace of the Lord (*paśu-pati*)", Kauṇḍinya quotes a verse which reads as follows :

sāṃkhya-yogena ye muktāḥ sāṃkhya-yogeśvarāś ca[12] *ye brahmādayas tiryag-antāḥ*[13], *sarve te paśavaḥ smṛtāḥ* (p. 5, lines 15-16) |

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10. Read *Yukta eva na mukta* for *mukta eva na yukta* on p. 115, line 5.

11. Cf. RT. p. 11, lines 1-5.
paśutva-sambandhī paśuḥ | *so 'pi dvi-vidhaḥ, sāñjano nirañjanas ceti* |
. . . . *nirañjanas tu tri-vidhaḥ, saṃhṛtaḥ kaivalya-gato niṣṭhā-yoga-yuktaś ceti* |

12. The word *yogeśvara* appears also in Kauṇḍinya p. 73, line 8,
tathā yogeśvarāḥ deveṣv antarbhūtāḥ |

13. *brahmādayas tiryag-antāḥ* means the fourteen places to be reborn (*sthāna*). These are specified by Kauṇḍinya on PS. 2.23
sthānāni tu brahmendra-deva-pitrādi-vacanād brāhmaṃ prājāpatyam saumyam aindraṃ gāndharvaṃ yākṣaṃ, rākṣasam paiśākcam | *iti-tathā brāhmaṇa-śūdra-go-mṛga-sarva-bhūta-kṛtānı ādi-vacanāt tathā mānuṣa-paśu-mṛga-pakṣi-sarīsṛpa-sthāvarādīnāṃ grahaṇam* (p. 73, lines 5-8). |
These fourteen places are referred to in both Gaudapada and *Tattvakaumudī* on *Sāṃkhya Kārikā* 53. Cf. also *Liṅga Purāṇa* 1. 88. 70-72 (*caturdaśānām. . . . . .sthānānām. . . .*).

"Those who have won the release through Sāṃkhya and Yoga, the gods of Sāṃkhya and Yoga, indeed all creatures from brahman down to the animals are called "cattle" in the (true) tradition."

Thus, it is clearly stated that the Sāṃkhya and Yoga *muktas* remain as the souls still to be released and consequently not the released souls.

Towards the end of his commentary Kauṇḍinya mentions the Pāśupata methods of explanation, *samāsa, vistara, vibhāga, viśeṣa, upasaṃhāra* and *nigamana*. Of these the fourth method, *viśeṣa* (distinction) is to state the superiority of the Pāśupata system over others with respect to the five categories peculiar to the Pāśupata Śaivism. We shall quote these passages under the heading of *pati, paśu* and *yoga*.

(*a*) *Pati-viśeṣaḥ-anyeṣāṃ pradhānādīni, asmākaṃ tad-vyatirikto bhagavān īśvaraḥ* (p. 147, lines 9-10).

"Now the method of distinction. Primordial matter is called the cause (in Sāṃkhya) and other (entities are called the cause) in other scriptures; but in our system the Blessed One, the ruler, who is different from primordial matter, etc., (is the cause)."

(*b*) *Paśu-viśeṣaḥ-anyeṣāṃ pradhānādīni kāraṇāni tānīha śāstre kāryatvena vyākhyātāni|tatra pradhānaṃ kāraṇam anyeṣāṃ, tad iha śāstre*[14] *paśyanāt pāśakatvāt kāryatvena vyākhyātam|tathā puruṣaḥ kāraṇam anyatra, iha śāstre paśutvāt kāryatvena vyākhyātaḥ* (p. 147, line 21-p. 148, line 2)

"The method of distinction: in other systems primordial matter, etc. is called the cause; but in our scripture it is explained as being the effect. In other system (the cattle are assigned to the category cause), but in our scripture they are explained as belonging to the category effect because they perceive and because they are bound. In other systems *puruṣa* (spirit, individual soul) is the cause; but in our scripture it is explained as belonging to the class cattle and therefore to the category of effect."

(*c*) [15]*yoga-viśeṣaḥ-anyeṣāṃ kaivalyam, iha tu viśeṣo vikaraṇam iti* (p. 148 lines 14-15).

"Now the method of distinction. In other systems the final goal is perfect isolation (*kaivalya*), but here the final goal is better, namely, freedom from the instruments.[16]"

As is seen from the above passages, the schools from which Kauṇḍinya tries to distinguish his own are Sāṃkhya and Yoga. The ultimate principle

14. For this Volksetymologie of *paśu* (*paśyanāt pāśakatvāt*), Cf. Kauṇḍinya on PS. 1 1 (p. 5, lines 5 ff.)

15. Cf. RT. p. 14, line 28 - p. 15, line 3,
Śāstrāntarokta-padārthebhyo'' *'mīṣām atiśayābhidhānam viśeṣaḥ*
....tathānyatra kaivalyābhyudaya -phalo yogaḥ, iha tu parama-duḥkhānta-phalaḥ

"Distinction is the showing of the superiorities of our categories to those of other scriptures. In other system *yoga* brings about the state of perfect isolation and success (*kaivalya-abhyudaya*), but here it brings about the complete end of suffering."

16. Cf. PS. 1.25.

(*puruṣa* or *pradhāna*) and the highest goal (*kaivalya*) of Sāṃkhya and Yoga are here assigned by Kauṇḍinya to a position of secondary importance. Here, we notice the monotheistic flavour of the Pāśupata doctrine according to which the God Śiva himself assumes the highest position.

From those passages as discussed above we can make the following conclusions. Pāśupata doctrine excels Sāṁkhya and Yoga in both the means (*sādhana*) and the goal (*sādhya*), the means being *atidāna* (trenscendent giving), etc. and the goal being *atigati* (transcendent goal) which is superior to *abhyudaya* of Sāṃkhya and *kaivalya* of Yoga. The *muktas* (released souls) of Sāṃkhya and Yoga are not yet released and are included in the category of *paśu*. They are even looked down upon like persons in a swoon, lacking knowledge of themselves or of anyone else. The followers of Sāṃkhya and Yoga are condemned as holding false views as *taimirika*.

III

As has been discussed in the previous section, the perfect isolation (*kaivalya*), which is the highest ideal of Sāṃkhya and Yoga[17], is not the goal to which the Pāśupata aspirant strives to attain. Now in the following, we shall enumerate the contexts in which the word *kaivalya* occurs and shall ascertain the position allotted to this central conception of Sāṃkhya and Yoga.

The duty of an aspirant who aims at the end of suffering (*duḥkhānta*) is simply to serve his teacher. His objective being the *duḥkhānta*, he does not care for the ordinary purposes.

> ....*duḥkhāntārthinaḥ śiṣyasyehopasadana-pravṛttiḥ* I *na tu dharmārthakāma-kaivalyārthātreti* (p. 3, lines 11-12).

> " And the activity of a pupil, whose purpose is to end his suffering, is here (in this system) to attend upon his teacher. On the other hand (in this system the pupil's activity is) not for the purpose of merit, wealth, sensual gratification or perfect isolation (as it is in other systems)."

This inclusion of *kaivalya* into profane objectives as *artha*, *kāma*, etc., is also found in Kauṇḍinya and PS. 5. 42 (*īśānaḥ sarva-vidyānām*).

> *Vidyānāṃ dharmārtha-kāma-kaivalya-tat-sādhana-parāṇām īśānaḥ* (p. 144, lines 15-16).

> " He is the Lord of knowledge in such forms as those which envisage the means to merit, wealth, sensual gratification and perfect isolation."

Thus, *kaivalya* is not the ultimate aim of the Pāśupata aspirant. Rather, God Śiva himself presides over those ordinary ideals. According to what Kauṇḍinya expressly states, God himself proclaims the Pāśupata ideal as different from *kaivalya*.

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17. Cf. *Sāṃkhya Kārikā* 68,
prāpte śarīrabhede caritārthatvāt pradhāna-vinivṛttau ।
aikāntikam atyantikam ubhayam kaivalyam apnoti ॥

"*aparijñānān nāsmākaṃ yoga-niṣṭhaṃ tantram | api tu tat-kaivalya-vyatirikto 'pi sarvajñenocyate* (p. 141, lines 2-3)[18]

" Our treatise is not founded on Yoga, because Yoga suffers from lack of complete knowledge. And its (aim) has been stated by an Omniscient (teacher) to be other than the perfect isolation (of the Yoga)."

Now, we shall quote two passages from Kauṇḍinya's commentary and Bhāsarvajña's R(atna)Ṭ(īkā), in which the compound *kaivalya-gata* occurs : *kaivalya-gatānām api duḥkhitva-darśanāt...........sarvācārya-viśiṣṭo 'yam ācārya iti* (p. 2, line 20-p. 3, line 3)

"The (Pāśupata) teacher here is distinguished above all the other teachers because we see that even those who attain the perfect isolation are subject to suffering."

Here we see that *kaivalya-gata* is excluded by Kauṇḍinya from a list of qualifications of the Pāśupata teacher[19]. A similar treatment of *kaivalya-gata* is also met in the RT. While discussing five impurities (*mala*) to be avoided and commenting upon the fifth impurity, *paśutva*, Bhāsarvajña says as follows:

tac cettham-bhūtaṃ paśutvaṃ saṃsārasyānādi-kāraṇam pradhāna-bhūtam ity evam matvāha mūlam iti | tathā hi kaivalya-gatānām anya-malābhāve' pi paśutvād eva punaḥ saṃsārāpattir iti (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 15, p. 23, lines 5-7)

" This inclusion in the category of cattle (*paśu*) is the eternal and chief cause of transmigration. Realizing this, the author terms it BASIS (*mūla*). For even those who have attained perfect isolation, though they may lack the other impurities, from the fact of their being cattle, will fall back into the world of transmigration."

Those *kaivalya-gata* are included in the category of *paśu* and still remain in the mundane cycle of transmigration.

On the basis of this textual evidence, we are assured to conclude as follows:

Kaivalya, the highest ideal of Sāṃkhya and Yoga, is not the goal of the Pāśupata aspirant. The Pāśupata ideal, the end of suffering (*duḥkhānta*). goes beyond that *kaivalya-vyatirikta* and *kaivalya* is classified by Kauṇḍinya into the ordinary ideal together with *artha*, *kāma*, etc., over which God Śiva Himself presides. The attainment of *kaivalya* is not a sufficient qualification of a Pāśupata teacher and those who have attained *kaivalya* (*kaivalya-gata*) still

18. The text is clearly corrupt. I have translated as if p. 141, lines 2-3 read *api tu tad-antaḥ kaivalyavyatirikta iti sarvajñenocyate.*

19. *Cf.* RT. p. 22, lines 12-14.

śāstrāntarebhyo' pi tarhi saṃśayādi-nivṛtter aviśeṣa-prasaṅga iti cen na' śāstrāntara-praṇetṛṇām api viparyayanivṛtti-pratipādanād ācārya-vaiśeṣya-prakaraṇe

"But it may be objected that even from other scriptures doubt may be dispelled and that there is therefore no particular advantage (in the Pāśupata system). This objection does not hold, for it has been shown under the topic of the superiority of the (Pāśupata) teacher that the authors of other scriptures do not dispel error. "

remain in the mundane cycle of transmigration. Here we see that the ultimate ideal of Sāṃkhya and Yoga is allotted to a position of secondary importance and in place of this, God is assigned the highest position.

It is described in the *Sāṃkhya Kārikā* that *buddhi*, whose function is the ascertainment (*adhyavasāya*), has eight aspects; merit (*dharma*), knowledge (*jñāna*), dispassion (*vairāgya*), sovereignty (*aiśvarya*), demerit (*adharma*) ignorance (*ajñāna*), lack of dispassion (*avairāgya*), and lack of sovereignty (*anaiśvarya*); the first four being its *sāttvika* aspect and the last four its *tāmasa* aspect[20]. Of these, seven without knowledge are said to be a bondage by which *prakṛti* binds herself, and knowledge leads *puruṣa* to the release[21]. When *prakṛti* ceases from productive activity, the seven stop their function and *puruṣa* remains by himself, looking at *prakṛti* as a spectator[22]. Right knowledge come up and the seven cease their function[23].

These eight technical terms of *Sāṃkhya Kārikā* present themselves also in Kauṇḍinya's commentary. However, the treatment is somewhat different from that which is given in the *Sāṃkhya Kārikā* and they are dealt with as a group with no distinction of *jñāna* from the remaining seven. Below, we shall enumerate the contexts in which those eight terms appear and ascertain their location in Kauṇḍinya's commentary.

While discussing *duḥkhānta*, the final ideal of the Pāśupata doctrine, Kauṇḍinya says as follows.

tasmāt prasādāt sa duḥkhāntaḥ prāpyate | na tu jñāna-vairāgya-dharmaiśvarya-tyāga-mātrād ity arthaḥ (p. 6, lines 1-2)

"From this grace (of God) the end of suffering is attained and not from mere knowedge, dispassion, merit, sovereignty or their opposites. This is the meaning."

Here *prasāda* is of the primary importance and outshines the concepts peculiar to the Sāṃkhya Philosophy. A similar theistic flavour, according to which God has priority to the philosophical ideas, is met in Kauṇḍinya's etymological explanation of the word *bhava*.

bhavana-bhāvana-kṛtatvāt | yasmād deva-manuṣya-tiryaktvena (*bhavati*) *bhāvayati ca tān īśvaraḥ | dharma-jñāna-vairāgyaiśvaryādharmājñānāvairāgyānaiśvaryāṇāṃ bhavana-bhāvanatvād bhavaḥ* (p. 53, lines 7-9)

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20. *Cf. Sāṃkhya Kārikā* 23,
adhyavasāyo buddhir dharmo jñānam virāga aiśvaryam
sāttvikam etad rūpaṃ tāmasam asmād viparyastam

21. *Cf. Sāṃkhya Kārikā* 63,
rūpaiḥ saptabhir eva tu badhnāty ātmānam ātmanā prakṛtiḥ
saiva ca puruṣārtham prati vimocayaty eka-rūpeṇa

22. *Cf. Sāṃkhya Kārikā* 65,
tena nivṛtta-prasavām artha-vaśāt sapta-rūpa-vinivṛttām
prakṛtim paśyati puruṣaḥ prekṣakavad avasthitaḥ susthaḥ

23. *Cf. Sāṃkhya Kārikā* 67,
samyag-jñānādhigamād dharmādīnām akāraṇa-prāptau
tiṣṭhati saṃskāra-vaśāc cakra-bhrama iva dhṛta-śarīraḥ

"Because they are created by a process of becoming (*bhavana*) and of causing to become (*bhāvana*). (Each cattle) becomes a god, human or animal, and the Lord causes them so to become. (Again, the word) "birth" (*bhava*) is used because merit, knowledge, dispassion, sovereignty, demerit, ignorance, lack of dispassion, and lack of sovereignty are entities which become and which the Lord causes to become."

God presides over these eight factors even in the interval between cosmic creations. In the *avatarana* to PS. 2. 25, Kauṇḍinya gives the following remark in the form of question and answer:

'*āha—kālana-vikaraṇatvād*[24] *avāntara-sṛṣṭyām karma-kṣaye vṛtti-lābhe cāpekṣate neti?* | *dharma-jñāna-vairāgyaiśvaryādīnāṃ vā kim eṣa bhagavān prabhur bhavati neti?* | *ucayate—prabhuḥ* (p. 74, lines 15-17).

"(Question) In the interval between cosmic creations does God stand in need of another mover and transformer for the destruction of karma and the attainment of activities? That is, is the Lord a master of merit, knowledge, dispassion, sovereignty, etc.?

(Answer) He is a master of them."

These eight entities are called *bala* together with *icchā, dveṣa, prayatna*, etc. by Kauṇḍinya and God Śiva obstructs these powers (*bala-pramathana*, PS. 2. 25).

God's power is not limited to obtstructing them, but also extended to transforming them. In his commentary on *kala-vikaraṇa*, another epithet of God, Kauṇḍinya says as follows :

vikaraṇatvaṃ nāma sthāna-śarīrendriya-viṣayādi-sanniveśena vistara-vibhāgaviśeṣatas ca kārya-karanākhyābhiḥ kalābhir dharma-jñāna-viarāgyaiśvaryādharmājñānāvairāgyānaiśvaryādibhiś ca kṣetrajña-saṃyojanam ity etad bhagavati abhyadhi-katvam śeṣeṣu ca puruṣeṣu nyūnatvaṃ jñātvā yuktaṃ vaktuṃ kala-vikaraṇāya namaḥ (p. 74, lines 9-12).

"His being able to transform the material componets means that he has the ability to join the individual souls to the material components which are called effect and instrument and to join them to merit, knowledge, dispassion, sovereignty, demerit, ignorance, lack of dispassion, lack of sovereignty, etc., through a process of distributing the souls to (their respectve) places (of birth), bodies, bodily organs, and their objects, etc., and this ability is exerted in a general way, an analytical way and a specific way. Thus, in view of the superiority of the Lord and inferiority of other individual souls, it is rightly said, homage to Him who transforms the material components."

Throughout these passages discussed above, we could notice that the eight modes of *buddhi*, that is, *dharma, jñāna, vairāgya, aiśvarya, adharma, ajñāna, avairāgya* and *anaiśvarya*, which are originally taught in the *Sāṃkhya Kārikā*,

24. The text is corrupt. I have translated as if p. 74, line 15 read *kālana-vikaraṇānyad* for *kālana-vikaraṇatvād*.

appear here in Kauṇḍinya's commentary with no discrimination of *sāttvika* and *tāmasa* aspects, and there is no reference to *jñāna* as distinct from and superior to the other remaining seven as is taught in the *Sāṃkhya Kārikā* 63, 65 and 67. They are treated here as a group of eight with no discriminatin among them. Furthermore, along with an introduction of the monotheistic element which characterises the Pāśupata Śaivism these eight items are unanimously discussed in contexts with the Supreme Lord. There we see that the Lord always stands above these eight and they are allotted only to an inferior rank to Him. Even the final ideal of Pāśupata, *duḥkhānta*, is attained not by *dharma*, *jñāna* and so forth, but simply by the grace of God (*prasāda*).

Although not specified as Sāṃkhya and Yoga, the following two passages seem to refer to those schools of thought.

In giving a definition to *harṣa* (PS. 2.12 : *harṣāpramādī*), Kauṇḍinya says as follows,

ity evaṃ yad anyeṣām aṇimādy-aṣṭa-guṇaṃ catuṣ-ṣaṣṭi-vikalpaṃ dharma-kāryam aiśvaryaṃ tad iha śāstre harṣa iti samjñitam (p. 65, lines 18-19)

"Thus, what in other systems are called the eight qualities, beginning with infinite smallness and sovereignty derived from merit in its sixty four varieties are all termed "delights" in this scripture."

Obviously those eight qualities : *aṇiman*, *laghiman*, *mahiman* (cf. p. 65, lines 12-13) *prāpti*, *prākāmya*, *īśtva*, *vaśitva* and *yatra-kāmāvasāyitva* (cf. p. 65, lines 16-17) are those which are enumerated by Vyāsa on *Yoga Sūtra* 3.45 (*tato' ṇimādi-prādurbhāvaḥ kāya-sampattad-dharmānabhighātaṣ ca*), and Gauḍapāda and *Tattvakaumudī* on *Sāṃkhya Kārikā* 23. Here in the Pāśupata literature, however, the aspirants are warned not to indulge in these supernatural qualities (*harṣāpramādī*)[25].

Again, Bhāsarvajña seems to refer to the Sāṃkhya and Yoga, when he comments upon five impurities (*mala*), which are mentioned in the *Gaṇa Kārikā* 8,

ete eva saṃsāra-bandhātmakā malā na tu śāstrāntaroktā bhoktṛ-bhogya-sambandhādaya ity arthaḥ (p. 23, lines 8-9)

"That is to say, these (five) only are impurities which bind one to transmigration, not such other forces as the relation enjoyer-enjoyed, etc., which are mentioned in other scriptures."

Thus, even in the classification of impurities to be abandoned the Pāśupata seems to distinguish themselves from other scriptures which might have been those of the Sāṃkhya and Yoga.

IV

Those passages as discussed above lead us to the following conclusions: There are several elements in which the followers of Pāśupata Śaivism tried to distinguish themselves from those of the Sāṃkhya and Yoga. The schools of thought which were the main object of criticism of the Pāśupata writers, and against which they claimed their superiority are those of the Sāṃkhya and Yoga. In spite of closeness which the Pāśupata Śaivism held with Sāṃkhya

25. Cf. also Kauṇḍinya on PS. 2. 12 (p. 65, lines 19-20)
teṣu madam akurvan harṣāpramādī bhavati

and Yoga as often referred to by classical writers, they are different from one another amongst themselves. Pāśupata always looked down upon Sāṃkhya-Yoga, and the monotheistic element which is essential to the former prevails over the philosophical concepts peculiar to the latter. This antagonism which the Pāśupata Śaivism held mainly against Sāṃkhya seems to be best illustrated by an inscription at Baḷagāmi, dated A.D. 1035. In the inscription which registers grants that were made over to Lakulīśvarapaṇḍitadeva, a Pāśupata ascetic of great note, we read a following passage :

......*lokāyata-mahā-taru-vidāraṇa-krakacaṃ sāṃkhyāhīndra-ruṃdra*(?) *vainateyaṃ advaitavādi-bhūja-kuṭhāram akalaṃka-tripura-dahanatriṇetram*......

" (to the holy Lakulīśvarapaṇḍita)....who is a saw to cleave asunder the great trees that are the Lokāyatas; he who is a great Vainateya (Garuḍa) to the large serpent that is the Sāṃkhya doctrine ; he who is an axe to the trees that are those who propound the Advaita philosophy ; he who is a very Trinetra (Śiva) to burn the three cities in the shape of Akalaṅka..."[26]

26. J. F. Fleet, "Inscriptions at Ablur," *Epigraphia Indica* 5, 1899, p. 227.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ŚIVAGĪTĀ

E.R. Marozzi, *Honolulu*

The *Śivagītā* is, by its own declaration in the colophon of each chapter, a text which is part of the *Padmapurāṇa* and is a scripture of yoga and an *Upaniṣad* (*i.e.* an esoteric teaching) which gives out the knowledge of *Brahman* in the form of a dialogue between *Śiva* and *Rāma*. The form, *Gītā* (song), is a poem like that of the more famous *Bhagavadgītā* written in verse with the purpose of conveying the esoteric philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* woven into a narrative background. In both the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Śivagītā* there is a discourse between a Divine Being and a devotee of outstanding calibre and the devotee is found to be in a serious predicament which can be solved only by the help and intervention of that Divine Being. This at the same time affords the occasion for the giving out of the profound philosophy and provides a practical setting for the philosophy. As *Arjuna* in the *Bhagavadgītā* had come to an impasse in regard to his duties as a warrior at the inception of the *Kurukṣetra* war when he became faint-hearted at the sight of many of his relatives, teachers and friends facing him in the opposing army and *Kṛṣṇa* takes this occasion to give out the philosophy of *svadharma*—the duties of man according to the laws of his own Being and how to be free from the bondage of action ; so also in the *Śivagītā* *Rāma* finds himself in a despondent state at having his consort *Sītā* abducted by the demon king *Rāvaṇa* who, because of boons conferred upon him, had become virtually invincible. At the advice of the sage *Agastya*, *Rāma* approaches *Śiva* and requests the boon of the great weapon *pāśupata* by means of which he could defeat *Rāvaṇa*. *Śiva* readily grants the boon but also takes the occasion to expound the philosophy of liberation which forms the main body of the text. In each *Gītā* also the devotee does not understand the teachings nor is convinced of their meaning until the Divine Being grants him, by His grace and power, the divine sight by means of which he is then able to see Him as the all-pervading Cosmic Being who creates, preserves and destroys the universe.

In comparing these *Gītās* with the *Upaniṣads* and their impersonal philosophy, there is a great emphasis on the personal aspect of Reality—in one *Kṛṣṇa* and in the other *Śiva*—to the extent that the deity Himself becomes the Absolute Reality or takes the place of the Absolute. The non-dualism of the *Upaniṣads* can thus be said to remain but with this personal modification—sometimes referred to as monotheism. Together with this emphasis on the personal God there are injunctions to worship, adore, repeat His name, serve and love Him, thus establishing the path of love and devotion (*bhakti yoga*) as a way to liberation (*mokṣa*). Belonging to epic and *Paurāṇic* literature, these *Gītās* are much later than the *Upaniṣads* and are characterized by a unifying viewpoint which embraces all the philosophical and religious ideas of that time. " In whatever way men worship Me, in the same way do I fulfil their desires : it is My path,

O son of Pṛthā, that men tread in all ways" (*Bhagavadgītā* IV. 11). The *Sāṁkhya* philosophy of *Puruṣa* (Soul) and *Prakṛti* (Nature) provides the cosmology of the *Gītās*, and the *Yoga* system of *Patañjali* the practical injunctions where the eight limbs of Yoga in the second chapter of the *Yoga Sūtras* form the frame-work of the yoga of the *Gītās* (moral and ethical observances, purificatory practices, posture, control of *prāṇas*, withdrawal of the mind, concentration, meditation and *samādhi*).

The *Śivagītā* is untranslated except for some random verses translated by Mario Vallauri into Italian in his article "La Sivagita" written for the Academy of Science of Torino in 1942. There is a kind of loose order to the composition of this *Gītā*, and this together with the fact that some concepts and theories reappear in various places may indicate that there have been additions and amplifications which would modify the original text. The atmosphere is, of course, *Saivite* and the fundamental doctrines in it are in conformity with those found in the *Upaniṣads*. Some of the later *Upaniṣads* are Śaivite at least in part—as in the fourth chapter of the *Śvetāśvatara* where the supreme *Brahman* is called *Śiva*, *Rudra* and *Maheśvara* and is considered the *māyin* (the creator of *māyā*) and the material world (*prakṛti*) is none other than *māyā* and is pervaded by elements which are parts of *Śiva*. Like some *Upaniṣads* still more recent, the *Śivagītā* makes a sect of *Śiva* and the more exalted sect of *Śiva Paśupati* (the Lord of Creatures).

The first chapter opens with several invocations addressed to various deities related in some way to *Śiva* and this is followed by an analysis of the sacred syllable *Oṁ* : how it is related to various deities, how it relates to the psychic and spiritual nature of man, and how it is to be used in the practice of spiritual life. *Sūta* begins by stating the content and purpose of the *Śivagītā*, "Now I shall expound the one pure liberation, the medicine for the pain of relative existence, by the grace of the Great Lord *Śiva*." Though emphasis is given to the path of knowledge, it is knowledge of, and devotion to *Śiva*. And faith and devotion to *Śiva* result from merit acquired in ten million births. From devotion knowledge arises and from knowledge liberation is attained.

In the second chapter we find *Rāma* so depressed and despondent because of the abduction of *Sītā* that he wanted to "give up the *prāṇas*." Knowing this *Agastya* proceeds to give a discourse to awaken the spiritual potentialities of *Rāma*. "Why are you dejected ? Doesn't even a fool know that this body is composed of the five elements ? The self is not born, does not die, nor does it suffer pain—It is stainless, infinite and Absolute existence, knowledge and bliss. This body is merely a lump of filth, soul-less and inanimate ; it is burned by a fire of logs or is consumed by a jackal. So how can it feel pain as of one who is in separation ?" Then he teaches *Rāma* the proper discrimination regarding woman by first painting a beautiful picture of a lovely *Devī* giving a detailed poetic description of her various parts and then saying that he who thinks of her thus is punished. The proper outlook from the standpoint of wisdom is given, "She is not a woman and not a man. She is neither male or female. It is the bodiless *Puruṣa*, infinite, the witness of the

body of living beings. She who is a delicate young woman of slender limbs is (really) an inanimate body—a lump of filth.... Of bodies consisting of the five elements......the Self alone in them is infinite and eternal. Then who is the wife, who is the husband ?......Therefore, what is the cause of depression and pain ? Knowing your own nature and renouncing pain, be a *sukhin*, a happy person." But *Rāma* finds it difficult to understand and the pain of separation from *Sītā* is reducing him to " ashes." "If there is no other experiencer than the Self, who is the enjoyer by which man is tormented ?", he asks. *Agastya* answers with the philosophy of *māyā* and how it relates to the Lord *Śiva*. "The world is confused by the *māyā* of *Śiva*, difficult to be known.... *māyā* is *prakṛti* (nature) and the *māyin* (creator of *māyā*) is but the Lord *Śiva*. All this world is pervaded by the separate elements belonging to Him. Part of Him is in the world of the *jīva* in the heart of living beings, as sparks of fire arise from a log of wood. Thus the parts of the Great Lord are related to actions without beginning and are joined to impressions without beginning.. The *jīva* imagines, ' I am the enjoyer and I am the sufferer. ' The spotless supreme light has thus been confounded by the *māyā* of Śambu. Thus having obtained ego, there is awareness of the sixfold group-desire, anger, greed, passion, malice, and delusion and he is afflicted by *māyā*, the cause of pleasure and pain. As silverness is seen in mother-of-pearl because of *māyā*, the universe is seen in *Śiva*. Anyone with the knowledge of discrimination does not participate in pain. Then cease this state of sorrow; why do you suffer in vain ?" *Rāma* replies that however that may be, he is suffering from his *prārabdha karma* due to past impressions and that this *prārabdha karma* does not forsake anyone, be he ignorant or illumined. It is from this that his ego is suffering and he wants immediate and tangible relief from it by some practical means to be given to him by *Agastya*.

Agastya, understanding that one afflicted with anger, etc. does not understand salutary counsel, tells *Rāma* that since *Rāvaṇa* has become virtually invincible by boons from *Śiva* and in addition has a large army and notable allies on his side, the only way to conquer him is to obtain the grace of *Śiva*. Then *Agastya* gives *Rāma* detailed instruction on purificatory and other practices by means of which he may obtain that grace, and having obtained it will gain the *pāśupata* weapon (the weapon which *Śiva* himself uses at the destruction of the universe) by means of which he can conquer all.

Rāma then retires to a solitary place on the bank of the *Godāvarī* and practises disciplines for four months repeating the thousand names of *Śiva* with concentrated mind. At the end of that time *Śiva* appears with his consort *Pārvatī* seated on his bull together with *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* and the divine court, and *Rāma* worships them with the thousand names of *Śiva*. *Śiva* grants to *Rāma* the boon of his divine weapon, the *pāśupata*, and indicates its use and its power. He is also given the gods who will become allies of *Rāma* by transforming themselves into monkey bodies; it having been conceded by *Śiva* in the past that the gods cannot go against *Rāvaṇa*.

Rāma takes this opportunity to ask *Śiva* about His mysterious nature—how he can be human and at the same time be the Lord of the Universes. *Śiva* answers that all perceptible things are a manifestation of His power. In His divine form He resides in the heart of living beings. They who discover Him there attain eternal peace. He is subtle and He is Infinite (as neither *Viṣṇu* nor *Brahma* could find out either His beginning or end at the time of the origin of the *liṅgam*). The mystery is similar to that wherein the minute seed of a banyan tree becomes a huge tree. However, in order to really understand it one must be endowed with divine sight. *Śiva* then bestows upon *Rāma* that divine power of seeing and at once *Rāma* perceives in the mouth of *Śiva* (as did *Arjuna* in the mouth of *Kṛṣna*) tens of millions of cosmic wombs (*Brahmāṇḍas*), huge mountains, stars, lightnings, sun and moon, and various past events of history having their origin, their unfolding, and their ending. *Rāma* is overwhelmed and breaks forth in praise of *Śiva* with various glorifying names and appellations and then clearly understands how the universe is made up of *māyā*, rests in *Śiva* and is perceived in *Śiva*; and how man sees the universe in the same way as he sees silver in the mother-of-pearl, snake in the rope, and blue colour in the sky. The Great Lord pervades all things and, even as space inside a jar, He remains unchanged when they are destroyed. As the sun is reflected on various surfaces of water, so is *Śiva* reflected in the hearts of all.

In answer to *Rāma's* question about the structure and development of the human body *Śiva* gives traditional instruction about being composed of the five elements, the four categories viviparous etc. and how the human body is born of the womb. And He discriminates for *Rāma* how it is that suffering pervades human life: The creature comes into light crying, is helpless and is in need of all things. He is distressed by ignorance in infacny, by vanity and lust in youth, and in old age there are infirmities, ailments, regrets and moral afflictions until, finally, he is claimed by death, lamenting his separation from wife and children, and the lifeless body is burnt or devoured by jackals. Attachments and relationships with others appertain only to the world of illusion. It is the subtle body which transmigrates according to its *karma* and the world of living beings is compared to a tree wherein each evening birds assemble for repose and each morning they abandon the tree, each going its own way. The seed of death is evolved out of life and the seed of life is evolved out of death. This transmigration of man is endless and there is no remedy for so much misery except in *Śiva*.

Then *Śiva* explains how identification with body and mind causes ego which in turn deprives living beings from attaining liberation. Therefore the sage should know the real nature of body and mind. Then more about the constitution of the body is given relating to the *guṇas*, *vāyu*, *dhātu*, *pañcakarman*, humors, the classes of bones and articulation; as well as the components of the inner organ (*antaḥkaraṇa*)—*manas* (internal sense), *buddhi* (the thinking organ), *citta* (thinking substance and memory), and *ahaṁkāra* (ego).

Rāma wants to know the origin of the soul in the body and its fate after the death of the body and *Śiva* explains the nature of the *Paramātman* and its attributes—how the individual soul is really identical with it. The conscious principle of the body as the *Paramātman* which, conjoined with the subtle body becomes the individual soul bound to life through *māyā*. As a black object reflected in a mirror, so the blemishes in the mind are experienced as impressions of past actions. It is an error to think that the mind and Pure Soul are one and that the Soul experiences pain. The locus of the individual soul is in the space of the heart—it is small but also infinite. From there numerous arteries and channels branch out throughout the body, one of which is called *suṣumnā* and has an upward direction leading the soul in its liberation from the material body. The soul within the subtle body is like space confined within a jar and at the time of liberation only does the subtle body perish *i.e.*, when the individual soul, disjunct from all that is material, identifies itself with the Universal Soul. Then, like the space in the jar that is destroyed, that which was within is seen to be non-different from that which is without and is all-pervading.

Next *Śiva* explains the course of transmigration of the individual soul before the experience of liberation. After death the embodied soul takes on another body in conformity with its past actions and wanders—like a fish between two banks—either in hells to work out its demerits committed, or in the sphere of the fathers (*pitṛs*) as the effect of goodworks until there is consumation of that kind of *karma*. Then after leaving that body the soul in the state of a subtle body becomes progressively ether, air, water, cloud, rain and finally grain and food of the earth which is swallowed by the father and mother and goes through the phases of semen and menstrual fluid and becomes an embryo. Those, however, who have acquired spiritual virtues and spiritual knowledge do not return but ascend to the realm of the gods (*brahmaloka*) and after a long period of time attain liberation. But those who realize the pure *Brahman* do not go anywhere but directly merge in *Brahman*—like grains of salt in water. Those who are devoid of meritorious actions are precipitated into hells and afterwards are reborn as inferior species. There is a progressive scale of happiness from that of the human to that of the gods to that which arises from the knowledge of the Supreme All. There is nothing greater than the science of the *Ātman*; and he who is devoted to knowledge is superior to all.

Whoever adores *Śiva* is liberated from all sins. As the bodies of all the gods are derived from a part of *Śiva*; when one offers sacrifices with faith he is offering them to *Śiva* who, therefore, enjoys all sacred ceremonies and grants fruits to all beings; for the entire universe is non-different from Him. It is not necessary to have recourse to pilgrimages in sacred places; it is enough, wherever you are, to have perfect recollection of the proper thought, the practice of Yoga. By means of meditation man awakens the direct vision of the Supreme Lord, without the need of the words of the Veda or religious treatises or intel-

lectual knowledge. Whoever realizes the Being of *Brahman* is liberated from all bondages and pains and is merged in *Śiva.*

The traditional classification of liberation by devotion are then given by *Śiva*; *sālokya*, the enjoyment of all desires in the world of *Śiva; sārūpya*, the assuming in the world of *Śiva* of a form similar to that of *Śiva*; *sārṣṭya*, the participation in a supremacy equal to that of *Śiva*; *sāyujya*, identification with the *Śiva-Brahman*; and *kaivalya*, absolute unity with the Godhead. The perfect vision is attained when one has become detached from all things and affections toward parents and friends and is disinterested and indifferent toward all material things, when he places himself under the guidance of a teacher who is a knower of *Brahman* and follows his teachings with faith and practises deep meditation. He who realizes himself in all beings and all beings in himself becomes immortal and is called liberated in life (*Jīvanmukta*).

How the *ātman* is limited by being embodied is explained next by *Śiva*. Though unborn, immortal and eternal the *ātman* is enveloped in five *kośas* or sheaths. First (from the gross to the subtle) is the *annamaya kośa* which corresponds to the *sthūla śarīra* or gross body discussed above; next is the *prāṇamaya kośa* or the sheath made up of vital energies; then the *manomaya kośa* or the sheath of the internal senses; then the *vijñānamaya kośa* or the sheath of knowledge. These last three comprise the *sūkṣma śarīra* or subtle body. Finally there is the *ānandamaya kośa* or the sheath of bliss which is the *kāraṇa śarīra* or causal body. The *ātman* becomes subject to sensations and becomes limited when it is conjoined to the senses and the mind. By turning the mind within and gradually going through the five sheaths one discovers the *ātman* and then arrives at the comprehension of the *Paramātman*. The parable of the chariot as found in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* is also given by *Śiva*: the body is the chariot, the soul is the rider, the intellect is the charioteer, the mind the reins, the sense-organs the horses and sense-objects the field of action. Those who are devoid of devotion are inevitably held bound to *saṁsāra*. But by means of merits acquired through ten million births there arises a love for *Śiva*. Then, being devoted to *Śiva* and having faith in Him, he acquires knowledge and does not engage in any other action afterwards.

Rāma asks by what kind of devotion can one attain supreme liberation consisting of detachment from matter and identification with the Supreme Spirit. *Śiva* replies that those devotions are dear to Him in which the *Vedas* (*Atharvaśira*, *Kaivalya*, and *Śvetāśvatara* specifically) are recited and there are sacrifices, gifts, smearing of ashes on the body accompanied by perfect control of the sense organs and concentration of mind exclusively on Him. Then there is the sacred syllable *Oṁ* which is the essence of all the *Upaniṣad* and is the Supreme *Brahman*. It has infinite potency and is insuperable for devotion to *Śiva*. This devotion is particularly meritorious and efficacious when practised in the first part of the night, in the eighth and fourteenth nights of both fortnights, but especially on the dark which goes from the full

moon to the new moon; and yet on the eleventh night, especially when it coincides with the day of Soma (Monday).

In the final chapter the universality of the sect of *Śiva* is pointed out and more details regarding His worship are given. He grants liberation to all who are devoted to Him irrespective of caste, class or sex. Although He allows a place for pilgrimage in that a certain amount of self-denial and austerity must be practised, the superior place is given to meditation which can be practised at any time and which grants liberation even to the sinner. In whatever difficulty one remembers the name of *Śiva* or turns his thought to Him, he attains liberation. Practices which are salutary in the sect of *Śiva* are the sprinkling of ashes on the body and the use of the rosary. The *vilva* tree (Aegle Marmelos) is sacred to *Śiva* and the *liṅgam* is His special emblem. Among the diverse postures for sitting devotionally the one which excels is called-*yoni mudrāsana* which is characterized by a special position of the hands. All who address their prayer to *Śiva*, always meditating on his aspect, become one with *Śiva* Himself.

Thus, though *Śiva* grants to *Rāma* his prayer of a means to defeat *Rāvaṇa*, he also conveys to him the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* and by endowing him with the divine eye (*divya-cakṣus*) reveals to him the all-pervading, immutable nature of the Divine Reality in the form of *Śiva*, from which the universe arises, upon which it is founded and to which it returns. By this is brought out that the " *Śivagītā Upaniṣad*, scripture of *Yoga*, and knowledge of *Brahman*" meant to be taught here require that the student develop the divine eye by practices and disciplines enjoined in the text in order to properly understand what is being taught. Understanding here means spiritual awareness and not intellectual knowledge only.

In comparing the *Śivagītā* with still other *Gītās* of the *Purāṇas* we find that they are similar in content, and especially similar in form. They are: *Īśvaragītā* from the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Yamagītā* from the *Agnipurāṇa*, *Gaṇeśagītā* from the *Gaṇeśapurāṇa*, the *Sūtagītā* and *Brahmagītā* from the *Sūtasaṁhitā*, and the *Rāmagītā* from the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*. In the colophons of the chapters of each *gītā* we find the term *Upaniṣad*—*Brahmagītā Upaniṣad*, *Gaṇeśagītā Upaniṣad*, *Īśvaragītā Upaniṣad*, etc.[1] The *Śivagītā* is written in 16 chapters with a total of 790 *ślokas* and is therefore longer than the *Bhagavadgītā* which has 700 *ślokas* and the content in terms of significance, importance and interest is comparable to that of the *Bhagavadgītā*, as is briefly brought out in this presentation.

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1. *See* V. Ragavan, *Greater Gītā*, *JOR*. Madras, Vol. XII. 1940, pp 86—122, especially p. 120.

THE GURUTATTVAMĀLIKĀSTOTRA OF NĪLAKAṆṬHA DĪKṢITA

Pierre Filliozat, *Paris and Pondichery*

In one of the introductory stanzas of his *Śivalīlārṇava*, Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita praises a sannyāsin Gīrvāṇayogīndra, as being a devotee of Devī:

अर्धे तनोरद्रिसुतामयोऽस्मीत्यहंयुना किं फलमादियूना ।
गीर्वाणयोगीन्द्रमुपास्महे तं सर्वात्मना शैलसुतात्मको यः ॥

" What fruit is to be obtained from Śiva who prides himself he is made of Pārvatī in half of his body ? We worship Gīrvāṇayogīndra who is made of Pārvatī in his whole person."

The poet has also composed an independant short hymn to the same Sannyāsin *i e.*, the *Gurutattvamālıkāstotra.* He gives in it a few indications on his identity. In verse 26, he gives his name as Gīrvāṇendra Sarasvatī. The contents of the whole poem shows him as a *mantra guru.* In verse 7 Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita calls him his *kula-guru.* In verse 28 he speaks of " an object marked with deer and moon, which has come from family tradition (*mṛgamṛgāñkalāñcitaṃ vastu kiṃcana kulakramāgatam*)," certainly referring thus to his guru in the form of Śiva. Stanza 8 is understood, as we shall see below, only if the guru is not alive, but is simply called to the mind of the devotee.

In verse 5 we see an allusion to a work of this Gīrvāṇendra, on the subject of mantras, and called "*Sārasaṃgraha*," which is certainly "*Prapañcasārasaṃgraha*," an inportant and well-known work (published in Saraswati Mahal Library Series, No. 98). My attention was drawn by Prof. V. Raghavan to a work called *Mahāgaṇapatikalapa* of the same author, available in a ms. in Madras Government Oriental Library, and is perhaps independent of the *Prapañcasārasaṃgraha.* About the life of Gīrvāṇendra Sarasvatī nothing is known. One interesting point is yet to be considered. I have been informed that the same name is found in the list of the Pontiffs of the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha of Kāñcīpuram. We can no more precisely define his relation with Nīlakaṇṭha, if he was the *kulaguru* of the poet, by belonging to the same Bhāradvājakula or by a paramparā of teachers and disciples. Tradition makes Nṛsiṃhāśramin guru of Appayya Dīkṣita, the grand uncle of Nīlakaṇṭha. And Nṛsiṃhāśramin, a few times, pays homage to one Gīrvāṇendra Sarasvatī, for example, in one of the introductory verses of his *Advaitadīpikā* (Adyar Library Descr. Cat. Vol. IX. p. 271). Could this have been the paramparā ?

The main theme of *Gurutattvamālikā* is the bhakti towards the guru. There is also a hint to the theme of vairāgya. In stanza 26, the poet says: " thinking of Gīrvāṇendra Sarasvatī is the supreme means of crossing the saṃsāra, for me averse to all undertakings, broken by old age and sick."

सर्वारम्भपराङ्मुखस्य जरया भग्नस्य रुग्णस्य मे
गीर्वाणेन्द्रसरस्वतीचरणयोश्चिन्ता परं तारिका ॥ १ ॥

This suggests the image of an old man who feels vairāgya and takes resort to a guru, when abandoning worldly life. It invites us to classify this poem with *Śāntivilāsa* and *Vairāgyaśataka*. Tradition, in good accordance with the inspiration of these poems, does not fail to make Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita take to saṃnyāsa in the last part of his life, and locates his retirement in Pālamaḍai· on the northern bank of Tāmraparṇī, where his samādhi is shown nowadays' If we follow this tradition, and let ourselves to be attracted by the image of a sincere virāg:n which these poems suggest, may we imagine that Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, when he felt disgust for his gṛahstha-life, was in quest of a guru, and that he resorted to the memory of his *kulaguru*, as a guide and a source of comfort for his new life.

Unfortunately, only two manuscripts are available now (in Adyar Library), One is incomplete (stanzas 1 to 10). The other one is damaged and only twenty stanzas out of twenty-nine are readable without lacunae. However Sri N. N. Bhatt has helped us in arriving at a satisfactory understanding of a number of them, which we would like to quote now. After a salutation to Ardhanārīśvara, the poet calls to his mind the form of the guru, and his prauḍhoktī makes him consider it as superior to the form of Śiva. Śiva in his Ardhanārīśvara form, bears in his body Pārvatī who is māyā, whereas the form of the guru is free of māyā.

नीलग्रीवमुमासखं त्रिनयनं रूपं यदाद्यं विभो-
दुःसंरोधभवप्रवाहलहरीकन्देन किं तेन नः ।
कारुण्यार्द्रकटाक्षवीक्षणकलानिर्धूतमायामलं
गीर्वाणेन्द्रगुरोः प्रसन्नललितां मूर्तिं स्मरामः पराम् ॥ २ ॥

" What use is for us this blue-necked, three-eyed and primordial form of the all-pervading one, who is the root of the unrestrainable tide of saṃsara's flow? We call to our mind the supreme form, pleasant and serene, of Gīrvāṇendraguru, which washes away the dirt of māyā by a part glance of his eye wet with compassion."

In the next verse, the poet describes by means of *utprekṣā* and *śleṣa*, the taking of saṃnyāsa by his guru. Gīrvāṇendra, when he became a saṃnyāsin, took the *daṇḍa* (stick). But *daṇḍa* is also one of the four *upāyas* to put somebody under one's power, namely, the open assault. Thus the poet fancies that Gīrvāṇendra wanted to put Śiva under his power, understood after reflection that the three *upāyas*, *sāman* " negotiation," *dāna* " bribery " and *bheda* "sowing dissension." had no meaning towards Śiva, and he had recourse to *daṇḍa*.

साम्नो नास्ति गतिर्गिरामविषये दानं विरक्ते मुधा
भेदः किं क्रमते निरस्तनिखिलद्वैतप्रपञ्चे शिवे ।
इत्यालोच्य वशे विधातुमिव तं जग्राह दण्डं दृढं
गीर्वाणेन्द्रयतिः सुनिर्मलमतिः संत्यज्य सर्वाः क्रियाः ॥ ३ ॥

"There is no way for *sāman* in case of Śiva who is beyond speech; *dāna* is useless for him who has renounced; can *bheda* progress in case of him who has destroyed the world of dualities ?" Having considered thus, as if to put Śiva under his power, Gīrvāṇendrayati took firmly this *daṇḍa*, he of very pure mind, leaving all rituals."

The next verse uses *virodha* helped by *śleṣa*.

ध्यात्वा यं हृदि दण्डिनं विजहति स्वप्नेऽपि दण्डस्पृहां
यत्काषायपटस्मृतिः शमयते सद्यः कषायं नृणाम् ।
यं साक्षाद्भवरूपमेव भजतां न क्वापि भूयो भवो
गीर्वाणेन्द्रगुरुं तमेव निभृतं ध्यायेम गायेम च ॥ ४ ॥

"When meditating on him in one's own heart as a *daṇḍin* (ascetic), one loses even in dream his desire for *daṇḍa* (*prāyaścitta*) ; thinking of his *kaṣāya* (ochre) dress calms down immediately the *kaṣāya* (anxieties) of men; to those who worship him as Bhava (Śiva) in person, there is, nowhere, no more *bhava* (births); intensely, we meditate on and sing the praise of this guru Gīrvāṇendra."

तत्त्वस्थानकलापदाक्षरमनून् शैवान् षडप्यध्वनः
संशोध्यैव चिरन्तनैश्च गुरुभिः केचित्कचित्तारिताः ।
एकेनैव तु सारसंग्रहकृतिव्यक्तेन मन्त्राध्वना
गीर्वाणेन्द्रगुरुर्विशृङ्खलमवत्याप्रौढमूढं जगत् ॥ ५ ॥

"A few times, a few have been made to cross the saṃsāra, by ancient gurus who purified in them the six śaiva adhvans-tattva, bhuvana, kalā, pada, akṣara and mantra; but by only one, the mantra-adhvan manifested in his work "*Sārasaṃgraha*," Gīrvāṇendraguru, without restraint, protects the world from the intelligent to the slow-minded one."

Verse 6 contains an *utprekṣā* and a *vyatireka*. The poet describes the glances of the guru. He fancies that the lotus-like glances of the guru are the flower-arrows of Kandarpa who throws them on him, thinking he is a great sage such as Viśvāmitra, etc. But there is a difference: the arrows of Kandarpa are intended to excite passion and do not succeed, whereas the glances of the guru are full of compassion and remove all sufferings.

ब्रह्मिष्ठानपरान्मुनीनिव परिज्ञाय स्वमायस्यतः
कन्दर्पस्य समन्ततो निपतिता मोघाः शरौघा इव ।
दृश्यन्ते करुणाकटाक्षकमलग्रामा विरामाः शुचां
यस्येमे प्रणमेम तं भवगिरां वैदेशिकं देशिकम् ॥ ६ ॥

"Like the vain arrows, falling on all sides, of Kandarpa who exerts himself, considering him to be like the other brahmiṣṭha sages, seem to be the rows of the lotus-like glances of compassion of this guru which suppress griefs, we salute him who is foreign to the speech of the world."

Verse 7 is again an *utprekṣā*. The poet meditates on the face of the guru, which is unique, but has five qualities expressed in five viśeṣaṇas. Each of these five qualities is the characteristic of each of the five faces of Sadāśiva. Thus the poet fancies to see the five faces of the god in the one face of the guru.

उद्भूतस्मितमुत्प्रबन्धकरुणाकल्लोललोलेक्षणं
त्रय्यन्तामृतवर्षि धर्षितपराहंकारशङ्कारवम् ।
एकं तद्वदनाम्बुजं कुलगुरोर्भक्त्या निदिध्यासतः
पञ्चाहो परितः स्फुरन्ति युगपद्वक्त्राणि चित्राणि मे ॥ ७ ॥

" When I concentrate with devotion my meditation on the one lotus-like face of this kulaguru, where appears a smile, which is full-blown, the eyes of which are tossing with waves of compassion, which showers the nectar of Upanisads, which has suppressed the sound of doubts created by the ahaṃkāra of opponents, then, o wonder, five beautiful faces shine, on all sides, simultaneously. "

To the viśesaṇa " *udbhūtasmitam* " may correspond the face Tatparuṣa of Sadāśiva, which is " *īṣatprahasita* " (*Mṛgendrāgama*, *kriyāpāda*, *paṭaḷa* 3, 45-47, and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's commentary, IFI 1962). To '*utprabandha*' corresponds the face Vāmadeva which is " *ujjvala* " (*Mṛ*. ibid). To " *karuṇa*" corresponds the face Īśāna which is " *prasanna* " (*Mṛ*. ibid.) To "*trayyanta*" corresponds the face Sadyojāta which is " *dhyānasakta* " (*Mṛ*. ibid.). To " *dharṣita*. . . . " corresponds the face Aghora which is " *karāla* " (*Mṛ*. ibid).

Verse 8 is a plight of the poet destined to show the intensity of his devotion to his guru. Direct service is held as a great mark of devotion. As Girvāṇendra is the kulaguru and is not alive, the devotee can only evoke him in his mind, but cannot serve him materially. He fancies to complain of this, that hundreds of births are necessary for him to satisfy his desire of doing material service, whereas the guru who has obtained mokṣa will have no rebirths.

स्वीकर्तुं चरणोदकं चरणयोर्मार्ष्टुं रजः पावनं
मूर्ध्ना धारयितुं चिराय चरणौ हेमाब्जसामाजिकौ ।
स्वामिन्मे जनुषां शतैरपि तृषा नापैति जन्मैव तु
द्वैतीयीकमलभ्यमेव भवता भक्तेष्वचित्ते कृतम् ॥ ८ ॥

" My thirst to take the water of your feet, to wipe my body with the pure dust of your feet, to hold on my head, a long time, your feet which are of the same class as gold lotuses, o lord, does not fade out, even in hundreds of births; but a second birth, created not in the mind of your devotees (but actual), cannot be obtained by you ".

Verse 9 is based on *virodha* helped by *śleṣa*.

कृच्छ्राणि प्रदिशन् सकृच्छ्रवणतः कृच्छ्राणि हन्ति स्वतः
कर्माणि ग्रसते समूलमपि नः कर्माणि सिद्धिं नयन् ।

गीर्वाणेन्द्र इति श्रुतः श्रुतिषु यः सर्वासु निर्वाणदो
मन्त्रोऽयं चतुरक्षरो मम भवत्वाश्वासमाश्वासनम् ॥ ९ ॥

"Urging to *kṛcchras* (austerities), heard once, it kills the *kṛcchras* (hardships) by itself; it swallows our *karmans* (passed bad acts) with their roots, leading our *karmans* (rituals) to success; this mantra of four syllables "Gīrvāṇendra," which gives mokṣa to whoever hears it, let it be my comfort, as long as I breathe."

There is also a pun in "*śrutaḥ śrutiṣu yaḥ sarvāsu*," which also means "heard in all the śrutis"; and this is the characteristic of an ordinary mantra. The other meaning is : "which gives mokṣa, when heard in all the śrutis (ears), *i.e.*, to whoever hears it," and applies to the peculiar mantra "Gīrvāṇendra."

Verse 10 recalls the idea of verse 2. Śiva is here spoken of in his Ardhanārīśvara form bearing the goddess who is māyā.

रूपं यस्य किलोद्वहन्नुपदिशत्यात्मैक्यमस्मादृशां
स्वे रूपे विमना मनागिव शिवोऽप्यश्रान्तमायाश्रये ।
तस्य श्रीगुरुराजराजपदवीभद्रासनाध्यासिनो
गीर्वाणेन्द्रयतेर्यतेम हि पदद्वन्द्वे नियन्तुं मनः ॥ १० ॥

"Śiva, as if discontent a little with his own form which is the support of unceasing māyā, has taken the form of this guru and teaches us the unity of ātman; on the feet of this Gīrvāṇendrayati who sits upon the auspicous throne of king of kings of gurus, we make effort to fix our mind."

देवेभ्यः शतशो ददावमृतमित्यद्यापि या स्तूयते
मूर्तिं तामपि मोहिनीति हि विदुर्नारायणीयां जनाः ।
मोहग्राहहरा दृशैव शुभया मूर्तिस्तु नः श्रीगुरो-
र्गीर्वाणेन्द्र इति श्रुता तनुभृतां दत्तेऽमृतं गृह्यताम् ॥ ११ ॥

"This form which is still praised as having given the nectar to the gods by hundreds, even this form of Nārāyaṇa is known as "Mohinī"; but the form of our guru, which kills the monster which moha is, by his favourable glance itself, which is called "Gīrvāṇendra," gives nectar to men; take it."

The following verses are intended to show the superiority of the bhakti towards the guru, over other means of obtaining mokṣa.

आप्राणोपरमं प्रतीक्ष्यमथ च ज्ञानोपदेशः शिवात्
काश्यां ह्या ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ भैरवभटा कर्षन्ति चेन्नान्तरा ।
गीर्वाणेन्द्रगुरोस्तु पादकमलं भक्त्या सकृत्पश्यतां
सिद्धं ब्रह्म करारविन्दवदिति व्यक्तं[प्रतिज्ञा]यताम् ॥ १२ ॥

"One must wait upto the end of his life; then he may obtain the advice of knowledge from Śiva in Kāśī, unless the army of Bhairava drags him in

the meantime; but for those who look once with devotion to the lotus-like feet of Gīrvāṇendraguru, the brahman is established like a lotus held in the hand........"

राज्यस्थाजनि पादुका रघुपतेरित्येव चित्रीयते
तद्राज्यं कियदन्वभूयत कियत्कालं न [तद्]गण्यते ।
पश्यास्मद्गुरुपादुकेय[मखि]लावच्छेदविच्छेदिनीं
ब्रह्मानन्दमहाधिराज्यपदवीं दत्ते सकृच्चिन्तिता ॥ १३ ॥

"The sandal of Raghupati stood in a kingly office ; of that only you are in admiration; but you do not consider how much this kingly power was experienced, nor for how long a time. See, the sandal of our guru gives the sovereignty of brahmānanda which breaks all the limitations, if one thinks of it once."

निष्कृष्टाखिलदर्शनाः कियदितो निर्ज्ञेयमित्याकुला
प्रापुस्तत्त्वमसीति वाक्यहृदयज्ञानाय [य]त्संनिधिम् ।
प्रागालोच्य समुत्थितार्थकणिकामात्रे पुनः स्थापिते
निर्वृण्वन्ति विपश्चितः स भगवान् गीर्वाण(नामा?)यतिः ॥ १४ ॥

"Intelligent men who have gone through all the darśanas, afflicted at the thought 'what knowledge is obtained from this,' have approached him, in order to know the heart of the sentence 'tat tvam asi,' and, when, having reflected, a mere particle of meaning raised in their mind has been re-established by him, they obtain bliss; such is this blessed Sannyāsin (named) Gīrvāṇa".

Verse 16 is again an *utprekaṣā*.

ज्ञानेन्दुर्यदि मौलिगो यदि मृगो भूत्वा करस्था श्रुतिः
सर्वज्ञो न भवेत्क इत्यपहसन् ... योच्छित्तये ।
पाणावेणकिशोरकं परिहरन्मौलौ कलां चैन्दवीं
गीर्वाणेन्द्रगुरुर्भवन् विवृणुते सार्वज्ञ्यमीशोऽधुना ॥ १६ ॥

"If one has on the head the moon which knowledge is, and in the hand the deer which the śruti is, will he not be an all-knower being?", thus speaking in jest, in order to destroy.........., abandoning the deer in his hand and the moon's digit on his head, becoming Gīrvāṇendraguru, Īśa now discloses his omniscience."

सर्वानुश्रवसारसागरमहामाहेश्वराग्रेसरः
श्रीमच्छंकरपादसूक्तिहृदयाविष्कारनिष्णातया ।
यः कृत्या निजया जहार हृदयं विश्वस्य विश्वस्य तं
गीर्वाणेन्द्रगुरुं कृताकृतभयोच्छेदात्प्रमोदामहे ॥ १७ ॥

"Leader among the great Māheśvaras in the ocean of the essence of all the āgamas, by his works skilled in showing the heart of the great sayings of Śrīmacchaṃkarapāda, he captured the heart of the world; confiding in this

Gīrvāṇendraguru, we rejoice because he destroys the fear of past and future *karman.*"

अस्तद्वैतकलङ्कपङ्कमपि यज्ज्योतिः परं ज्योतिषां
तच्चावृत्य निवृत्तशङ्कमधुनाप्युद्गाढरूढं तमः ।
यद्वाचा विलयं निरंशमयते गीर्वाणयोगीशितुः
तस्य श्रीचरणारविन्दरजसा मार्जामि गीर्जाम्मिताम् ॥ १८ ॥

"This supreme light of lights, which is without the mud of the stain of duality, is without doubt, covered, still now, by a dense darkness; this darkness has gone now to complete destruction by the speech of this lord of yogins; with the dust of his lotus-like feet, I wipe away the staleness of my speech"

आलिङ्गन्त्यपि सर्वभूतवशिनं यं वादिसंकेतिताः
स्त्रीलिङ्गव्यतिषङ्गतोऽपि चकिता चिच्छक्तिरालिङ्गति ।
संपत्तिं स किमीहते मम गुरुः श्रीकण्ठवैकुण्ठयोः
कैवल्यं स्वमिमौ कुतः कथयतस्तन्त्रेषु किं ते[न]तु ॥ १९ ॥

"Those who are called "argumentators" even ambrace him who controls all beings; in spite of his aversion to the feminine class, the wonder-struck *cicchakti* embraces him. Does my guru desire the fortune of Śrīkaṇṭha and Vaikuṇṭha ? Wherefore do these two claim in the Śāstras to be abodes of *kaivalya* (being alone)? But what does that matter ?"

अन्तानन्तशरीरबन्धपरिवाहोपात्ततत्तच्छुभ-
प्रारब्धार्थसमानभाग्यफलितो यः शक्तिपातस्˘- ।
निर्णीतो यदि सोऽपि देशिकदयापाङ्गप्रसङ्गावह-
स्तत्त्वं तर्हि गुरोः परं किमपि नेत्याख्यात वीतभ्रमाः ॥ २० ॥

"If even this *śaktipāta* which results from the good destiny of a group of good *prārabdhakarmans* acquired in the flow of bondage with mumberless perishable bodies, if even this *śaktipāta*, no doubt, follows the glance of compassion of the guru, then there is no higher reality than the guru; proclaim this, o men free of illusions."

A reconstruction of the remaining stanzas would be subject to many doubts. At least the reading of the previous ones has given us an idea of the brilliancy of this *Gurutattvamālkā*. We recognize and admire the wit and the eloquence proper to Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita. His originality is striking. The impulse of his strong and rich temper leads the rhythm of these verses and makes more moving the images of *bhakti* and *vairāgya* they bring forth.

A TYPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF DEFINITIONS: THE NAME 'PĀÑCARĀTRA'

Utilizing Texts of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās

By H. DANIEL SMITH, SYRACUSE

Two highly reputed scholars, Professors J. A. B. van Buitenen and V. Raghavan, have both within the past five years turned their attention to the name "Pañcarātra." The former, writing in the winter 1962 issue of *History of Religions* (Chicago, Vol. 1, No. 2, "The Name Pañcarātra," pp. 291-299), deliberately limited himself to the pre-saṃhitā texts and to non-sectarian works. From the evidence that he collected, Professor van Buitenen suggested that the origin of the term is to be sought among those wandering ascetics of ancient India who followed night-rules, that this group gradually won a certain group identification and that, as their devotional religion "went philosophical," the term Pañcarātra also came to be applied to a system of thought, to the literature it produced and to the adherents it won. He noted in his article (p. 291) that not much importance need be attached to the fact that the Mahāsanatkumāra-saṃhitā is divided into five parts called "Nights." The latter scholar, Professor V. Raghavan, in a paper read in New Delhi at the XXVIth International Congress of Orientalists and recently published in *The Journal of American Oriental Society* (Baltimore, Vol. 85, No. 1, January-March 1965, "The Name Pāñcarātra: with an analysis of the Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā in manuscript," pp. 73-79), chose to review some traditions found in nine canonical saṃhitā-texts of the school. After analyzing these and other pertinent data, he concluded (p. 76) that the name should be based on the blocks of teaching that were once delivered in nightly discourses to particular sages, and that the sections preserved in the [Mahā-] Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā as "rātras" and named after five "sages"— Śiva, Brahmā, Indra, Ṛṣis, and Brahmaṇaspati— attest to a division and tradition in the school's development that came to be the most highly regarded and helped to determine the epithet for the school itself.

The purpose of the present article is not to dispute either scholar's methods or conclusions. Neither is it concerned to venture into the history of the Pāñcarātra school nor the chronology of its canonical literature. Rather, the purpose here is to present a typological survey of the definitions of the name "Pāñcarātra" found in the Pāñcarātra-saṃhitās[1] and, with little

1. The extent of the Pāñcarātrāgama corpus of canonical literature is traditionally said to be "108" saṃhitās. F.O. Schrader in his *Introduction to the Pañcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* (Adyar, Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1916, pp. 6-11) names over two hundred titles found in various lists in extent samhitās ; and Pandit V. Krishnamacharya in his Sanskrit Introduction to the text of the *Lakṣmī Tantra*, which he edited (Adyar, Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1959, pp. 10-11), lists even more titles from additional lists.

more than identifying comments, to place the transliterated texts of these definitions at the disposal of other scholars who may wish to use them as raw data for further considerations of the problematical term.

The materials of this survey will be presented within the following outline:

I. Variant Definitions based on the element °-*rātra*

A. Construed as " Night ".

B. Construed as " Night," but extended to refer to certain things being shrouded in darkness; hence, an " Obscuration," an " Obliteration ".

C. Construed as from *rātrīyate* | *rātryāyate*, indicating something being put " in the dark "; or, " Ignorance ".

D. Understood in positive terms; °-*rātra* as " Knowledge," " Enlightenment "; hence, construed as a " Gift ".

E. Miscellaneous, positive interpretations.

II. Variant Definitions based on the element *pañca*-°

A. The " fifth Veda ".

B. " Five " of something— 5 senses, 5 objects of the senses, 5 gross elements, 5 " other " systems, etc.

C. Various combinations of " five. "

D. Construed as "five" practices to be observed by devout Pāñcarātrins, namely, the Pañcasaṃskāras, or the Pañcakālas.

III. Other miscellaneous explanations

IV. Summary

I. *Variant Definitions Based on the Element* °-*rātra*

The primary meaning of *rātra* is "night," although it may also on occasion mean the twenty-four hour period of night-and-day, hence, " day " in the twenty-four hour sense. As we shall see, the element °-*rātra* in some instances in the saṃhitā literature is extended to refer to certain things being shrouded in darkness, hence an obscuration, an obliteration; and also to that which can be compared to (as we would say colloquially) " being in the dark," or ignorance. Yet another group of definition apparantly take °-*rātra* in a

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Of the many titles in circulation, there are perhaps two dozen texts in print, another dozen surviving as reasonably complete unpublished manuscripts, and a number of fragments of incomplete manuscripts and passages extant in various manuscripts libraries. The present author has surveyed most of the extant works of the Pañcarātrāgama available, and the article in hand uses materials found in twenty-two saṃhitās and four other relevant works. The saṃhitā titles quoted from are: *Ahirbudhnya, Aniruddha, Hayaśīrṣa, Īśvara, Jñānāmṛtasāra, Kapiñjala, Mārkaṇḍeya, Nāradīya, Padma, Parama, Paramapuruṣa, Pārameśvara, Pauṣkara, Puruṣottama, Śāṇḍilya, Śeṣa, Śrīpraśna, Vāmana, Vihagendra, Viṣṇu* (-Saṃhitā), *Viṣṇu* (-Tantra) and *Viśvāmitra*. Citation is also made to a commentary of the *Bharadvājasaṃhitā* (11), to the *Śrīpañcarātrarakṣā* by Vedānta Deśika, to a secondary work of the Pañcarātra school called *Utsavasaṃgraha*, and to a Śākta work called *Śaktisamgama Tantra*. Specific information about each work will be given in appropriate subsequent end-notes.

more positive sense, where the thrust seems to indicate knowledge, enlightenment; hence, even a gift. Far from ignoring the element °-*rātra*, as Professor van Buitenen, basing himself upon Schrader, believes to be the case in the saṃhitā definitions,[2] a good many of the more interesting examples turn upon that very part of the word.

I-A. The most elemental canonical definitions of *pañcarātra*, to be sure, take the obvious— and commonly accepted— course: these definitions have something to do with five [*pañca*] nights [*rātra*]. Sometimes, in this connection, it is said that a particular sage is taught something in the course of five "nights," or days-and-nights "days" as in the *Puruṣottama-saṃhitā* (I:6b-7a)[3] :

sārdhakoṭipramāṇena brahmaṇā keśavāt śrutam || [6b]
rātribhiḥ pañcabhis sarvaṃ pāñcarātrāgamaṃ smṛtam | [7a]

Likewise, in the *Paramapuruṣasaṃhitā* (I:24):[4]

śrīman nārāyaṇo śauriḥ hariḥ paramapūruṣaḥ| [24a]
pañca rātriṣu tat sarvam brahmaṇe avadat svayam || [24b]

Or, again, in the *Mārkaṇḍeyasaṃhitā* (I:19):[5]

sārdhakoṭipramāṇena kathitam tasya viṣṇunā | [19a]
rātribhiḥ pañcabhiḥ sarvam pañcarātramataḥ smṛtam|| [19b]

A variant of this "five nights" teaching to one sage is to multiply the number of recipients. In the *Paramasaṃhitā* (XXXI: 18-19 *passim*)[6] Sanatkumāra, Sanaka, Sanandana and Sanātana learn from Brahmā in the course of five days of instruction:

tebhyo jñānam dadau sarvam pañcarātreṇa sarvaśaḥ || [19b]

Or, another work, the *Viṣṇu Tantra*, quoted in the Sanskrit Introduction to the published edition of the *Paramasaṃhitā*,[7] has it that on the first night, one lakh of ślokas were taught to Brahmā, on the second night Śiva received instruction, on the third night Ādiśeṣa [v.1., Indra], on the fourth night "sage," and on the fifth night Bṛhaspati was taught. As Professor V. Raghavan has pointed out in his article already cited, the [*Mahā-*] *Sanat-*

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2. See J.A.B. van Buitenen, "The Name Pañcarātra," *History of Religions*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Winter 1962), pp. 291-299, especially p. 291. Compare F.O. Schrader, *op. cit.*, p. 24. See also V. Raghavan, "The Name Pāñcarātra : With an Analysis of the Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā in Manuscript," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 85, No. 1 (January March 1965), pp. 73-79.

3. *Puruṣottamasaṃhitā*, edited by P. Sitaramacarya, Bhadrachalam, Granthamalika-sakha (The Publication of Literary Pride in India, No. 2), 1932 (Telugu script).

4. *Paramapuruṣasaṃhitā*, edited by P. Sitaramacarya, Bhadrachalam, Granthamalika-sakha (The Publication of Literary Pride in India, No. 4), *kri. s.* 1798 (*sic*) (Telugu script).

5. *Mārkaṇḍeyasaṃhitā*, Adyar ms. 10. J. 24 (Devanagari script on paper) = Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library ms. R. 2936 (Telugu script on paper).

6. *Paramasaṃhitā*, edited by S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Baroda, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. 86, 1940 (Devanagari script).

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 29 - 40.

kumāra-saṃhitā would seem to preserve this tradition by naming its five sections (Śiva-rātre, Indra-rātre, etc.) after these same five recipients.

Another variant is found in the *Vihagendrasaṃhitā* (I:34b-37a):[8]

ādau kṛtayuge prāpte keśavena prasāditāḥ|| [34b]
ananto garuḍaścaiva viṣvaksenaḥ kapālabhṛt| [35a]
brahmā ityeva pañcaite śṛṇvanti pṛthagīritam || [35b]
anantam [*sic*] prathame rātrau garuḍaśca dvitīyake| [36a]
tṛtīyarātre seneśaś caturthe vedhasā śrutam|| [36b]
rudraḥ pañcamarātre ca śraddhāśāstram pṛthak pṛthak| [37a]

Further, the important *Īśvarasaṃhitā* (XXI: 519, 532-533a)[9] has this:

pañcāyudhāṁśās te pañca śāṇḍilyaś caupagāyanaḥ| [519a]
mauñjyāyanaḥ kauśikaśca bharadvājaśca yoginaḥ|| [519b]
* * * * *
pañcāpi pṛthag ekaikaṃ divārātraṃ jagatprabhuḥ| [532a]
adhyāpayāmāsa yataḥ tatas tanmunipuṅgavāḥ|| [532b]
śāstram sarvajanair loke pañcarātram itīryate| [533a]

It is perhaps amusing, if not of direct relevance to our task here, to note that the notion of *pañcarātra* having something to do with "five nights" was, while widespread, yet misunderstood, so that a 16th or 17th century Śākta cult work, the *Śaktisaṃgama Tantra* (VIII:3),[10] says simply that those who are called Pāñcarātrins are those who take the vow for five days not to look on the face of a Śaivite :

pañcarātrivrataṃ prāptāḥ pāñcarātrāḥ prakīrtitāḥ| [3a]
dinapañcakaparyantaṃ śaivānām na vilokanam|| [3b]

I-B. Several saṃhitā passages may be found where °-*rātra* is still understood as "night"—but in the sense that when other systems of thought and practice are compared to the resplendent pañcarātra system, they are as nights are to day. For example, the authoritative *Pādmasaṃhitā* ("jñānapāda" I : 74)[11] uses that image :

pañcatvamatha vā yadvad dīpyamāne divākare | [74a]
ṛcchanti rātrayas tadvat itarāṇi tadantike || [74b]

And, in almost the same words, the *Aniruddhasaṃhitā* (I: 37b-38b)[12] presents this :

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8. *Vihagendrasaṃhitā*, Adyar ms. 8. E. 28 (Devanagari script on paper).

9. *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, Conjeevaram, Sudarsana Press, 1923 (Devanagari script) ; also Mysore, Sadvidya Press, 1890 (Telugu script).

10. *Śaktisaṃgama Tantra*, Baroda, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. 61, 1932 (Devanagari script), " Kālīkhaṇḍa, " VIII : 3 (p. 93).

11. *Pādmasaṃhitā*, Mysore, Sadvidya Press, 1891 (Telugu script); also *Pādma Tantra*, Bangalore, V. Naidu and Company, 1927 (2 vols.) (Telugu script). "Authoritative" because its use today in the training of arcakas is fairly widespread, and it is turned to by contemporary Pañcarātrins as an oft-cited authority.

12. *Aniruddhasaṃhitā*, edited and published by A. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mysore, 1956 (Devanagari script).

pañcatvamatha vā yadvad dīpyamāne divākare || [37b]
ṛcchanti rātrayas tadvad itarāṇi tadantike | [38a]
tasmāt pañcarātrākhyam brahmā lokapitāmahaḥ || [39b]

So also, but in somewhat different words, the *Viśvāmitrasaṃhitā* (II: 7):[13]

atha vā rātrayo yadvat sannidhau pañcatāya vai | [7a]
nīyante tadvad anyāni śāstrāṇyetsaya sannidhau | [7b]

Along the same lines, but now alluding to five other systems that fade away in the light of the Pañcarātra teachings, we have an earlier śloka from the above-quoted *Pādmasaṃhitā* ("jñānapāda" I:73):

candratārāgaṇam yadvat śobhate naiva vāsare | [73a]
tathetarāṇi śobhante pañca naivāsya sannidhau || [73b]

And the same words exactly are found, again in some earlier ślokas of a work already cited above, in the *Aniruddhasaṃhitā* (I: 36b-37a).

I-C. The element °*-rātra* is used in a curiously interesting way in at least four passages, in which are more or less specified which of the other "other five systems" are thrown into darkness [*rātrīyante/rātryāyante*] by the Pañcarātra. In the twice-mentioned *Pādmasaṃhitā*, in yet another place, we have simply these words :

pañcetarāṇi śāstrāṇi rātrīyante mahāntyapi | [72a]
tat sannidhau samākhyāsau tena loke pravartate|| [72b]

The reference to "other systems" is somewhat more specific, as in the *Aniruddhasaṃhitā* (I: 35b-36a), where we read about Sāṁkhya, Yoga and "other" systems :

sāṁkhyayogādiśāstrāṇi rātrīyante mahāntyapi || [35b]
tat-sannidhau samākhyāsau tena loke pravartate | [36a]

And, in the *Viśvāmitrasaṃhitā* (II: 6), again, similarly :

sāṁkhyayogādayaḥ pañca rātryāyante 'sya sannidhau | [6a]
tasmād vā pañcarātrārthaḥ procyate sūrisattamaiḥ || [6b]

The *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* (XXXVIII: 307b-308b),[14] said to be one of the three most ancient of the canonical saṃhitā texts, avers that the Purāṇas, Vedas, Vedāntas (Upaniṣads), Sāṁkhya and Yoga—five in number, and specified—are thrown into darkness by the Pañcarātra system :

purāṇam vedavedāntam tathānyat sāṁkhyayogajam || [307b]
pañcaprakāram vijñeyaṃ yatra rātryāyate 'bjaja | [308a]
phalotkarṣavaśenaiva pañcarātramiti smṛtam || [308b]

In one passage, °*-rātra* is coupled with what is illusory [*tāmasa*], and the "Pañcarātra" is said to be *other than the five tāmasa schools*—namely, the Buddhists, the Pāśupata, the Kāpālika, the Śaivite, and the Gāṇapatya. The passage is found in the *Vāmanasaṃhitā* (XXXIII: 57-58):[15]

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13. *Viśvāmitrasaṃhitā*, Adyar ms. 10. K. 4 (Devanagari script on paper).

14. *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, edited by H.H. Sri Yatiraja Sampathkumara, Bangalore, A. Srinivasa Iyengar and M.C. Thirumalachariar (publishers), 1934 (Devanagari script).

15. Quoted in *Utsavasaṃgraha*, a manuscript at the Adyar Library and Research Centre quoting extensively from eleven Pancarātra saṃhitā texts,

bauddham pāśupataṃ caiva kāpālam śaivameva ca | [57a]
gāṇapatyam ca pañcaite tāmasāni samīritāḥ || [57b]
tamastu rātrir ityuktam tadviśiṣṭena tāmasam | [58a]
tasmāt pañcetaratvācca śāstram pañcetaram viduḥ || [58b]

With the above passage we begin to encounter those passages where °-*rātra* is construed in the saṃhitā literature not merely as " obscuration," but more definitely as " obliteration," even " ignorance," " bondage," and the like. As an example of a passage that makes explicit the identification of *rātri* with " ignorance" [*ajñāna*], we cite a passage from the *Śrīpraśnasaṃhitā* (II:40).[16] In addition to noting the change from °-*rātra* to °-*rātri*, note also the peculiar rendition given to *pañca*-° which here no longer means " five " but is, rather, equated with " the destroyer "—perhaps an analysis stemming from *pañcatvam* (" death "):

rātrir ajñānam ity uktam pañcety ajñānanāśakam | [40a]
tac chāstram pāñcarātram syād anvarthasyānurodhataḥ || [40b]

Most of the other passages in which °-*rātra* (or *rātri*) is used negatively simply take *pañca*-° to refer to " five " of something—usually the number of things that bind, enslave, delude or otherwise impede man. For example, the *Paramasaṃhitā* (I: 40b-41a) says that the five *bhūtas*, their subtle forms, *garva*-ego, *buddhi*- intelligence, and ideal forms [*avyakta*]—these are the "night" (read " bonds ") for the human person. Pañcarātra releases him from their hold

bhūtamātrāṇi garvaśca buddhir avyaktam eva ca || [40b]
rātrayaḥ puruṣasyoktāḥ pañcarātram tataḥ smṛtam | [41a]

This may be compared with a passage from the *Viṣṇu Tantra* (I : 76b-78a),[17] in which the " five " is still given a psychological reference—though different from the above—and in which the understanding of °-*rātri* is still "darkness" as in ignorance, hence an impediment :

avyaktaṃ ca manobuddhir ahaṁkāraśca cittakam || [76b]
tanmātrāś caiva gandhādyā rātrayo dehinas smṛtāḥ | [77a]
ebhis samanvitair dehair dehinām bhuktimuktidam || [77b]
sādhanam pūjanam tvetat pañcarātram iti smṛtam | [78a]

Or, noting that the psychological reference now extends outward into the world so as to include the objects of the senses, these being the " five " impediments which lead into "darkness"; we read this in the *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* (II: 49b-51a):[18]

rātrayo gocarāḥ pañca śabdādiviṣayātmikāḥ || [49b]
mahābhūtātmakā vātra pañcarātram idam tataḥ | [50a]
avāpya tu paraṃ tejo yatraitāḥ pañca rātrayaḥ || [50b]
naśyanti pañcarātraṃ tat sarvājñānavināśanam | [51a]

16. *Śrīpraśnasaṃhitā*, Kumbakkonam, Mangalavilasa Press, 1904 (Grantha script).

17. *Viṣṇu Tantra*, Adyar ms. 8.1.18 (Devanagari script on paper) ; not to be confused with another work, *Viṣṇusaṃhitā*, cited in note 18, below.

18. *Viṣṇusaṃhitā*, Trivandrum, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, N. 85, 1925 (Devanagari script),

In a work already noticed, that is in the *Paramasaṃhitā* (I: 39b-40a), occurs a passage having a slight variation on the foregoing examples, and one that can best be understood, now, in their context :

mahābhūtaguṇāḥ pañca rātrayo dehinaḥ smṛtāḥ || [39b]
tadyogādvinivṛttervā pañcarātram iti smṛtam | [40a]

At this point, also, the continuation of another passage already cited above can demonstrate further how the reference to " five " objects as *rātrayaḥ*-impediments moves out even further from the psychological realm into the natural realm of the elements—for we read in the *Viṣṇu Tantra* again (I:78b-80a) :

yato bhūtaguṇāḥ pañca rātrayo dehinas smṛtāḥ || [78b]
tadbhogādvinivṛttis tu kārayeyur yatas tataḥ ! [79a]
āvāhanāsanādyaiśca tantroktaiśca yajeta māṃ || [79b]
[?] tam kārayanti [?pālayanti] janmādyair yattat tantramitīritam | [80a]

Or, even more clearly, from the same text a few lines earlier (I: 74b-76a), we observe that the reference to the " five " is to ether, air, fire, water and earth—all deluding agents [*rātrayaḥ*] of men :

viyad vāyuśca vahniśca āpaścaiva dharā tathā || [74b]
rātrayo dehināṃ proktā avidyāsambhavas tataḥ | [75a]
tadbhogād vinivṛttim tu kārayeyur yatas tataḥ || [75b]
pañcarātram iti proktam etac chāstram mayā tathā | [76a]

These "five" deluding elements are named in a passage from the *Hayaśīrṣasaṃhitā* ("Ādi" IV : 2-3)[19] and are, in fact, identified directly as *rātrayaḥ*. It is worth placing this passage alongside the above for comparison :

ākāśavāyutejāṁsi pānīyam vasudhā tathā | [2a]
etā vai rātrayaḥ khyātā hy acaitanyāst amotkaṭāḥ || [2b]
rātrīṇāmapyathaitāsāṃ vyatiriktaṃ nirañjanam | [3a]
sa yadā buddhyate tattvaṃ tadā mukto'nukīrtyate || [3b]

As a final example in this group, where °-*rātra* is construed negatively, we cite a passage from the *Kapiñjalasaṃhitā* (I: 31b-32).[20] Here, " five " refers not only to the five elements but also to the five senses which apprehend them, the *guṇas*, and *rātrayaḥ* refers to creatures who are bound and restricted by those five elements and senses. Pañcarātra, then, is that system which dis-associates those creatures from their mundane enjoyment :

pṛthivyādīni bhūtāni guṇāḥ pañca mahāmate || [31b]
rātrayo jantavaḥ proktāḥ sarvaśāstreṣu niścitāḥ | [32a]
tadbhogād vinivṛttis tu pāñcarātam iti smṛtam || [32b]

I-D. Moving now from the negative notions associated with the element °-*rātra* in the saṃhitā definitions of *pañcarātra*, we can find another group of

19. *Hayaśīrṣasaṃhitā* ("Ādikāṇḍa"), Rajshahi (East Pakistan), The Varendra Research Society (2 vols.), 1952 /1957 (Devanagari script).

20. *Kapiñjalasaṃhitā*, Cuddapah, K.C.V. Press, 1896 (Telugu script).

passages in which, as in the "jñānakāṇḍa" of the *Brahmapurāṇa*,° -*rātra* is construed as "knowledge"—or, elsewhere, as "enlightenment"—hence, also in the sense of a "gift" or as "grace". In one passage, *rātra* is understood as "knowledge," and this is made quite explicit. This is in a passage referred to by Professor van Buitenen (*loc. cit.*) as the *Nāradīya Saṃhitā*, but which in order not to confuse it with another authentic Pāñcarātrāgama work of that same name (*see* below, and note 22), should rather be called by its proper name, the *Jñānāmṛtasārasaṃhitā*. Although Schrader (*op. cit.*, p. 24) states that this work certainly cannot be used as a Pañcarātra authority, it nonetheless represents an attempt in a late Pāñcarātra work to define the vexing term—and we are even told explicitly what the five-fold "knowledge" consists of (I: i: 40-55) in the ślokas succeeding the one we here cite (I : i: 44)[21]:

rātraṃ ca jñānavacanaṃ jñānaṃ pañcavidhaṃ smṛtam | [44a]
tenedaṃ pañcarātraṃ ca pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ || [44b]

In another passage, this time from the work properly to be called the *Nāradīyasaṃhitā* (I: 77),[22] it is only implicit that *pañca*-° and/or °-*rātra* may be construed as "knowledge." There the Pañcarātra system is equated with the highest knowledge [*param jñānam*/*mahājñānam*] given by Viṣṇu. In the passage, Nārada has been explaining to Gautama the process of Creation through the Lord's power of *māyā*. Gautama has asked what it is that one does to overcome or to transcend this *māyā*. To this, Nārada replies that it is only by observing the ways of the Pañcarātra system of worship that one can achieve this effect over *māyā*. It is at this point that the crucial lines come in which we may assume that the definition implied would be that °-*rātra* is to be equated with *jñānam*, while *pañca*-° is to be equated with *mahā*- and *param* :

tasmāt paramiha jñānam bhāṣitam viṣṇunā hitam | [77a]
pañcarātram iti khyātam bhuktimuktiphalapradam || [77b]

Professor V. Raghavan (*op.cit.*, p. 74) places himself with those who oppose—presumably on philological grounds—taking the word *rātra* to mean "knowledge." From that perspective, one may indeed echo his words, "......How this [connection] is possible is not known." But from the phenomenological point of view of an historian of religion, simply the fact that the Pañcarātrins have given *rātra* this sectarian sense is reason enough to accept the identification. Perhaps one passage from the *Śāṇḍilyasaṃhitā* (I: iv: 70-76)[23] may give some insight into the rationale for using *rātra* in a positive sense. In this passage while *rātra* still has the initial sense as "night", nonetheless one notes that the use has the feeling of something pleasurable and refreshing—very much as

21. *Jñānāmṛtasārasaṃhitā*, edited by K. M. Bannerjea, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bibliotheca Indica Vol. 38 (Devanagari script) ; English translation of this work found in *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Vol. 23. The work is variously called *Nārada Saṃhitā*, *Nāradīya Saṃhitā* and *Nāradapāñcarātra*.

22. *Nāradīyasaṃhitā*, Adyar ms. 10 K. 4 (Devanagari script on paper.)

23. *Śāṇḍilyasaṃhitā* ("Bhaktikhaṇḍa"), edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinath Kaviraj, Godhowlia (Benaras), printed by H.P. Dutt, Eureka Printing Works, Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhavan Texts No. 60, pts. I and II, 1935/1936 (Devanagari script).

cool nights are welcome interludes following upon hot, Indian days. In this comparison, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Śaiva, Veda and Āraṇyaka are together termed *rātrayaḥ* ("nights") because they give us the pleasure and bliss of self-realization [*ātmānanda*]; and the same sum can be given by the Pañcarātra—hence its name.

sāṁkhyam yogas tathā śaivam vedāraṇye ca pañcakam | [75a]
procyante rātrayaḥ kānte ātmānandasamarpaṇāt || [75b]
pañcānāmīpsito yo 'rthaḥ sa yatra svayamāpyate | [76a]
paramānandametena prāpnoti paramātmanaḥ || [76b]

I-E. For the Pāñcarātrins to attach special, esoteric meanings to common words is only to do what other sectarian groups before and since have also done. The case in point here is *rātra*, and it is worth noting at this point in our survey of saṃhitā-definitions that at least two attempts were made to treat °*-rātra* not as one word, but rather the result of two other components coming together. In both cases, the final element [*tra*|*tri*] is construed as from the verb meaning "to protect". In the first such example to be cited, the already-quoted *Śāṇḍilya-saṃhitā* (I: iv: 78), we have Pañcarātra defined as that which gives *sāṁkhya* (="knowledge"?), *yoga* (= "discipline"?), *vairāgya* (="equanimity"?), *tapas* (= "self-control"?) and *bhakti* (= "devotion"?) to the Lord and, as well, that which protects [*trai*]:

sāṁkhyaṃ yogaśca vairāgyam tapo bhaktiśca keśave | [78a]
pañcārthadānataḥ trāṇāt vidyā sā pāñcarātrikī || [78b]

The other example is useful to illustrate the kind of etymological approach that has been (and still is) undertaken by Pañcarātrins who are not satisfied with the commonly accepted analyses. In this passage from the *Viśvāmitrasaṃhitā* (II: 3b-5b), a manuscript already cited, note that *pañca-*° is construed as "five" —referring to the five *indriyas* and their objects to the five gross elements and their subtle forms—much as in several of the passages we have already noted above. The passage continues by pointing out, however, that the "*rā*" which follows is a root, meaning "collection." Hence *pañcarā* means a collection of all the things just named, such a collection being nothing other than a human being. Finally, we are told, the element "*tra*" means "to protect"; and that which "protects" human beings [*pañcarāḥ*] is *Pañcarātra* :

pañcendriyāṇi viṣayāḥ pañcabhūtāni tadguṇāḥ || [3b]
pañcaśabdābhidheyāni vidvāṁso 'pyācacakṣire | [4a]
rā ityayamapi prokto dhāturādāyavācakaḥ || [4b]
viṣayendriyabhūtānāmādhātāraśca pañcarāḥ | [5a]
manuṣyāḥ pālanātteṣāṃ pañcarātram iti smṛtam || [5b]

II. *Variant Definitions based on the Element pañca-*°

Turning specifically to the element *pañca-*° in the word *pañcarātra*, one notes that it almost always refers to five items—although the items, indeed, do vary.

II-A. To be sure, there are instances where the "five" is construed to be the four Vedas plus the Pañcarātra system as a "fifth." Here, presumably,

°-*rātra* would again imply "knowledge." An example of this type of definition is seen in the *Aniruddhasaṃhitā* (II: 12b):

pañcamam vedamākhyātam pañcarātram tu pāvanam || [12b]

So also in the *Vāmanasaṃhitā*.[24] Further, one may also refer to the *Śeṣasaṃhitā* (I: 4):[25]

pañcamo veda ityuktaḥ pañcarātraṃ tu nārada | [4a]
tanmārgeṇaiva sarvam syāt labhen mokṣam hitam harim || [4b]

II-B Closer to a normative type, however, are those definitions in which "five" items—sometimes specified, sometimes not—constitute the main thrust of whatever meaning is attached to the name Pañcarātra. As already noted in section I-B, above, the "five" may refer to the *five* senses, the *five* objects of the senses, the *five* gross elements, the *five* "other systems" thrown into darkness when compared to the brilliance of the resplendent Pañcarātra, and the like. To those, now add the following simple passage, quoted in the *Utsavasaṃgraha* but for which no source is given,[26] indicating that the Pañcarātra system is that which includes the sum of all that is to be known by the study of the Purāṇas, the Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, Sāṁkhya and Yoga systems :

purāṇam nyāyamīmāṁsam tathānyat sāṁkhyayogataḥ |
pañcaprakāravijñeyaḥ pañcarātram iti smṛtam ||

Another interesting example, also quoted in the *Utsavasaṃgraha* with no indication of its canonical source [27], refers also to "five" systems, or "śāstras." But in this case the "five" are significantly different although it is affirmed that the Pañcarātra is a combination of them all. While the statement is not altogether accurate, it is still taking into consideration the overall contents of the available extant Pāñcarātrāgama texts—not entirely misleading.[28] The "five" which are said to be combined are *āgama*, *bharata* (dancing treatises), *śilpa* (iconographical and architectural rules), *vaidya* (medicine) and *jyotiṣa* (astrology):

āgamam bharatam śilpam vaidyam jyotiṣam eva ca |
pañcaśāstrāṇi samyogāt pañcarātram iti smṛtam ||

II-C. In a number of cases, numerous enough to constitute a type to be noticed separately, the element *pañca*-° in the name Pañcarātra is understood to refer not simply to one "five" but instead to various combinations of pentads. For example, one passage, too long to be usefully quoted here, from the readily-available *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* (XI : 35b-65a),[29] alludes to

24. Quoted in the Adyar ms. *Utsavasaṃgraha*, pp. 1257 ff.

25. *Śeṣasaṃhitā*, edited by Lakṣmipuram Srinivasacharya, Mysore, Mysore Government Press, 1935 (Devanagari script).

26. See the Adyar *ms. Utsavasaṃgraha*, Vol. III, p. 15.

27. *loc. cit*.

28. See Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcarātra*....p. 26. For a study of the *śilpa* passages in the Pañcarātra saṃhitās related to temple-building, see the present writer's *Pañcarātraprāsādaprasādhanam*, Madras, Ratnam Press, 1963 (Devanagari script).

29. *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā*, edited by F.O. Schrader, Adyar, Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1916 (2 vols). (Devanagari scripts).

two " fives." The passage referred to speaks of an " Original Version " of God's śāstra that was one million (or, an infinite number of) chapters in extent. It came (to earth) to be taught as Vedas, Yoga, Sāṁkhya, Pāśupata and Pañcarātra—the fifth one, Pañcarātra, being the purest essence of the " Original Version." Further, the same passage continues, the Pañcarātra reveals God's nature as being five-fold—*para*, *vyūha*, *vibhava*, etc. So here we have the " five " referring both to the fivefold nature of God's Being and to the fifth śāstra which is the most accurate of all the teachings.

The *Vihagendrasaṃhitā*, already cited above, in addition to construing " five " to refer to the teaching that was handed down to five sages in the course of five nights (I: 34b-37a) goes on, somewhat ingeniously, to indicate that " five " further has significance inasmuch as the Jñāna, Yoga, Kriyā and Caryā sections of this literature altogether constitute five lakhs of granthas—hence the name Pañcarātra (I: 37b-38a):

jñānayogakriyācaryāgrantham śatasahasrakam || [37b]
pañcalakṣapramāṇam syāt pañcarātram iti smṛtam | [38a]

Reflecting this fascination with " fives ", in the already-cited *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* the origin of the world is discussed (IV: 23-35 *passim*) and there is apparently an effort made to show how significant the number five is in the subtle and gross mânifestations of matter—*vaikārika-ahaṃkāra* augments into five *indriyas*; *taijasa-ahaṃkāra* augments into five *karmendriyas*; *tāmasa-ahaṃkāra* augments into five *bhūtas* ; the five *tanmātras*; and the Lord Himself creates, ordains and destroys with His five *śaktis*.

Of all the passages that turn upon the concept of " five", one from this same *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* (II: 12b ff.) is the most ingenious and imaginative—and is perhaps, in certain ways, the most instructive. The passage is too long to quote here, but it can be summarized as dealing with five groups of " fives ." First (II: 12b ff.), the " tantras " accept as valid five means of knowledge [*pramāṇam*]—perception [*pratyakṣa*], inference [*anumāna*], analogy [*upamāna*], verbal knowledge [*śabda*] and presumption [*arthāpatti*]. Second (II: 20ff.), there are five kinds of "tantras "—those belonging to the Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, Brāhmas, Sauras and Kaumāras. Third (II: 27), five groups [*gocāras*] are mentioned, devoted to gods like Vāsudava, Brahmā, *etc*. Fourth (II: 26b-35a) there are five Pañcarātra groups to be recognized—Vaikhānasas, Sāttvatas, Śikhins, Ekāntins and Mūlakas ; these are, further, interrelated with one another so that there are some twenty-five groups in all (5 x 5). And fifth (II: 40 ff.), there are five groups of *dīkṣitas* mentioned—samayins, putrakas, sādhakas, deśikas and gurus. Some of these groups of five would surely be worth further study to understand the Pañcarātra school descriptively.

II-D. A number of definitions turning upon the element *pañca*-° may be grouped together conveniently, for they all refer to the fact that a Pañcarātrin is one who observes five particular practices. These definitions all point to the feeling held among many Pāñcarātrins today, namely that the faith is not so much what one is or what one thinks but what one does and what he observes.

The first example to be cited in this regard is a passage from the *Śāṇḍilyasaṃhitā* (I: iv: 77), a work cited before. In this passage two sets of "five" are referred to—the five *pramāṇas* and the five *arthas*, the latter having reference to the five *kālas*, namely, *abhigamana*, etc.— in such a way that presupposes knolwedge of what these are and how they are incorporated into the Pāñcarātra way of life :

pramāṇapañcakaiḥ pūrṇam pañcakārthopadeśanam | [77a]
prapañcātītasaddharmam pañcarātramudāhṛtam || [77b]

Indeed, observance of the five-fold *kālas*– *abhigamana, upādāna, ijyā, svādhāyaya* and *yoga*[30]– seem in several other passages to be stressed as the epitome of the " meaning " of Pāñcarātra life. For example, we read in the *Śeṣasaṃhitā* (I:6) that those who worship the Lord Kṛṣṇa by the observance of the five *kālas* will satisfy *dharma*, enjoy *kāma*, etc., and finally reach the highest heavens:

pañcakālavidhānena viṣṇum arcayantīha ye | [6a]
dharmakāmādikam prāpya te yānti paramam padam || [6b]

Compare this with a line from the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* (XVI : 9a):[31]

pañcakālarataś caiva pañcarātrārthavit tathā [9a]

And, note also this line from the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* (X: 129a):[32]

tvam pañcakālakartṛṇām gatistvam pāñcarātrika |

And, also, the śloka from the *Vāmanasaṃhitā* (XXXIII: 5), quoted in the *Utsavasaṁgraha* :

yasmāt phalaṃca [*sic*] divārātram pañcānāmuditam mayā | [5a]
tasmāt loke pañcarātram abhidhānam iti smṛtam || [5b]

Even the highly regarded, but extra-canonical, *Śrīpañcarātrarakṣā* by Vedānta Deśika has it– in the penultimate śloka of the first chapter[33]– that the Pañcarātra system is best understood as that which lays stress upon the *pañcakāla*-observances and their importance :

pañcakālavyavasthityai veṅkaṭeśavipaścitā |
śrīpañcarātra-siddhāntavyavastheyaṃ samarthitā ||

Two other examples may be cited in which it is suggested that in addition to– if not in place of– the observance of the *pañcakālas* a worthy Pañcarātrin fulfiils certain other expectations. In a commentary usually attached to the *Bharadvājasaṃhitā* II[34], we gain insight into what the ideal Pāñcarātra

30. For a definition of the five *kālas*, see the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*, edited by Embar Krishnamacharya, Baroda, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. 54, 1931 (*Devanāgarī script*), XXII : 65b ff. (p. 253).

31. *Ibid.* (p. 155).

32. *Parameśvarasaṃhitā* (*Śrī Parameśvarasaṃhitā*), edited by Sri U. Ve. Govindacarya, Srirangam, Sri Vilasam Press, 1953 (*Devanāgarī script*).

33. *Śrī Pañcarātrarakṣā*, edited by Pandit M. Duraiswami Aiyangar and Pandit T. Venugopalacharya, Adyar, Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1942 (*Devanāgarī script*).

34. The exponential Roman numeral after the title is to distinguish this work, a late production of the Pañcarātra school dealing with the subject of *prapatti* and appearing in several editions, from another canonical work in the Pañcarātrāgama corpus of the same name. The present reference is to the 1905 edition of the work, printed in Bombay.

prapanna was to be like. Observe again how groups of fives are useful in understanding how Pañcarātrins interepret the term *pañcarātra* and understand their faithfulfiess. In a passage (commentary on III: 96) which attempts to classify types of believers and non-believers, a negative approach is taken which, in reverse, indicates what the ideal is. In verse 96, four groups of descending order of respectability are named as having respectively only 4, 3, 2 or 1 of the five *saṃskāra*-sacraments—indicating by implication and context that the true *prapanna* is he who has *puṇḍra*, *nāma*, *mantra*, *tāpa* and *pūjā* in his continual possession.[35] Further (commentary on III : 98), groups are also named who likewise demonstrate decreasignly a desire to adhere to certain practices—indicating by implication and by context again that the ideal Pāñcarātra *prapanna* is one who does his own duty [*svakarma*], one who knows the śāstra, one who worships God, one who obeys his guru, and one who associates with good people [*satsaṅga*]. Thus we have the "meaning" of the term *pañcarātra*, and the system itself, inextricably bound up with certain observances and certain ethical modes of behaviour—a not uncommon way for contemporary Pañcarātrins to attempt definition of the meaning of their sect's curious name. Only one other passage seems to connect the *Pañcasaṃskāra*-observances in any essential way with the essence of what it is to be a Pañcarātrin —and that is the following passage from the already cited *Śeṣasaṃhitā* (I: 37):

madvaṁśajānāṃ sādhūnāṃ pañcakālaratātmanām | [37a]
pañcasaṁskārayuktānāmidam sarvam vadet sadā || [37b]

Note in this śloka that in addition to being limited to people who are born in "my family," the narrator restricts the Pañcarātra-teachings to those who are gentle, who have undergone the five *saṃskāra*-sacramental rites and not surprisingly—who observe the five-fold *kālas*.

III. Other, Miscellaneous Explanations:—

Two more explanations of the "meaning" of the word *pañcarātra* will suffice in closing. Both are based on the saṃhitā literature, though one of these but indirectly. Both have the virtue of presenting data that conform to certain observable activities and concerns acknowledged today by Pañcarātrins, and both find approval in the Pañcarātra communities as they seek to explain themselves and the nature of their central witness. Both, however, can be looked at here only in passing for both suggest further analysis than it is possible to do in the present paper.

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35. The rites here called "Pañcasaṃskāra" are also, more often and popularly, known as *samāśrayaṇa*. Other synonyms, too, like *prapatti*, are used but these need not detain us. The rites are of the nature of *dīkṣā* (initiation-rites) leading into the full adoption of a Pañcarātra way of life. The rites usually include *puṇḍra*-cosmetics, *nāma*-designation, *mantra*-instructions, *tāpa*-brandings and *pūjā*-initiation with an Ācārya's help. The most complete description of these rites in English is in K. Rangachari's *The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brahmins*, Madras, Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum New Series—General Section, Vol. II, Pt. 2, 1931, pp. 34-37. See also the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* (XXI : 284-448) for the most extensive treatment in the canonical literature on the subject, even though it represents the point of view of the Tengalai branch of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas only.

This first is an attempt to trace the "meaning" of *pañcarātra* to an original system of worship used among a group of five *gotras*, native to five particular places. This is of interest because within the Pañcarātra elite communities there are generally acknowledged to be but five family lineages that are acceptable. The tradition comes from the *Vāmanasaṃhitā* as quoted in the *Utsavasaṃgraha.*[36] In a rather lengthy passage there, Vāmana is speaking to Yājñavalkya, recalling what he had in turn heard from Aupagāyana. Aupagāyana was one of five ṛṣis who had gathered at his native place in Toṭādri to perform penance in order to learn the way of salvation. Aupagāyana was joined there by Śāṇḍilya, who came from a place referred to as Pāṇḍavakṣetra; by Bhāradvāja, who was born in a place referred to as Sālagrāmācala ; by Kauśika, or Viśvāmitra, reported to have been born in Mṛgasthala ; and by Mauñjāyana, said to have been from Anantapuri. As a result of their combined penances Brahmā appeared to them. He told them that only Nārāyaṇa Himself can dispense to them the saving knowledge they seek. As Brahmā disappeared from their view, Vāsudeva appeared in his place. And to the sages' questions He said, " those who worship Me according to the Pañcarātra Śāstra, which is the Fifth Veda and is also to be called 'Mahopaniṣad' becaue of its ' great mantra ' addressed to Me, they get *bhukti* and *mukti*." At this point,[37] the sages ask the Lord about the lineage of those who are acceptable to worship Him. He traces the brahmins back to an origin in His face, and says that the various brahmins have different *gotras* and *caraṇas*. Among those *gotras*—He continues according to the long recollection of Aupagāyana and repeated by Vāmana —only five are eligible to worship Him according to the Pañcarātra. And those who are born at five particular places [*svayamvyaktas*—namely, Toṭādri, Pauṇḍravardha (*n.b.*), Sālagrāmācala, Mṛgasthala and Anantapuri] are best among those who worship Him and belong to His family. These have *dīkṣā* naturally, right from their birth. The Lord concludes: ' O you five, I have given you the mantra that is in the Pañcarātra and thus you are my family-members [*bhagavad-vaṁśa*]. . . . and since you have the *saṃskāras* outlined by Me, and practise the *pañcakālas*, etc., the worship performed by you five alone gives the best fruits."

To pursue the complicated lines of examination suggested by this tradition would be to take us, surely, beyond the scope of this typological survey. Should the task ever be undertaken, however, another similar tradition should very likely be borne in mind, namely, what is found in the *Śrīpraśnasaṃhitā* (*adhy.* I and LIV). This tradition holds that only four *gotras* are acceptable. In this version, four ṛṣis from Vindhya approach Ekata on Mt. Meru, having been directed there to him by Kahola. The four are Vedaśira, Bhārgava Marīcīpa and Kavasa, representing respectively the Bhāradvāja, Vāsiṣṭha (?) Viśvāmitra and Kauṇḍinya *gotras*. The text claims that only those born in these families can best do *parārtha-pūjā*, and can be called Bhaṭṭars ; others are mere *dīkṣitas*.

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36. Adyar ms. *Utsavasaṁgraha*, pp. 1257 ff.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 1265-1267.

The other explanation of the "meaning" of pañcarātra was one that the present writer received from more than one Pañcarātrin while in India, and which accorded with his own survey of the contents of the available extant Pāñcarātrāgama texts. As an explanation it is basically a theological one. In it, °-*rātra* is construed—somewhat fancifully—to derive from a verb meaning "to give," and *pañca*-° is said to allude to the five modes of the Lords' Being, according to Pañcarātra-teachings. The theological motif founds itself on the notion of revelation, and how man can come to know God. As the explanation goes, the Lord is continually "giving" of Himself so that all may know Him according to their abilities—either in His *para*-mode, or in His *vyūha*, *vibhava* or *antaryāmin* manifestations. Especial emphasis is placed on the *fifth* mode of His Being, the *arcā*-form, that is, the icon or image by which even the most earth-bound human might encounter the Divine Presence. The Pañcarātra system, then is said to be that system which teaches about the five modes of God's Self-giving, with especial concern for His fifth, or *arcā*-image, mode of Self-revelation.

A survey of the broad contents of the Pāñcarātrāgama canonical texts corroborates —at least in part—this notion, and indicates that while some attention is given in the *saṃhitās* to philosophy and to personal discipline and social ethics, the bulk of the literature is devoted to giving directions for preparing an icon and constructing and otherwise making ready shrines to house that icon, along with specifications for how, when and by whom the *arcā*-presence of the Lord is to be worshipped.

IV. Summary

The problem of discovering "meaning" of the word *pañcarātra* is as vexing to a Western-trained Indologist as it is to a follower of the Pañcarātra sect of Vaiṣṇavas. The former, if he adheres to certain canons of scientific scholarship, must feel that the sectarian explanations are at least historically naive if not philologically untenable ; yet, at the same time, he must also be struck by the fact that some of the explanations he is himself likely to advance may have little or nothing to do with the way the term is understood and used today by Pañcarātrins. On the other hand the latter, because he founds himself upon canonical writings and is intimately aware of cult practices and of the speculative dimensions within the sect, seems justifiably to complain that the outsiders' explanations are quite beside the point ; yet, at the same time, he cannot help but be struck by the variety, even inconsistency, of his own sources. The present article has set forth in a typological framework a survey of the definitions of the word *pañcarātra* as these are explicitly given in the canonical Pāñcarātrāgama writings. It would appear from the variety of evidence presented here that the Pañcarātrins responsible for advancing and circulating the *saṃhitā* texts seem long since to have lost touch with the original, common understanding of the term—if there ever was one.

More evidence is needed if the "meaning" of the name *pañcarātra* is to yield to the inquiries of future scholars. Certainly the approach taken by Professor van Buitenen—seeking in extra-canonical sources notices regarding

the early followers of the school, their practices and reputation—deserves the attention of the most alert historians of religion ; and the method illustrated by Professor V. Raghavan—applying the refined skills and precise tools of an enlightened textual critic—should also win emulation among aspiring Sanskritists. The corpus of Pañcarātra-literature, both canonical and secondary writings, remain even today relatively unexamined. It would appear that the search for the " meaning " of the term *pañcarātra* must turn not only to the ancient and more recent writings of the school itself, but must also explore the broad phenomenology of the sect's practices and concerns descriptively and analytically, taking into account ritual and oral theology as well—all the while maintaining the sound scholarly approaches represented respectively by the two scholars mentioned above. This is no small undertaking. To those who would undertake to be a part of this probing enterprise, the data of this paper, culled from a number of *saṃhitā* texts, is offered.

INDIAN INFLUENCE ON SASANIAN AND EARLY ISLAMIC ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY

By

David Pingree, Chicago

The study of the history of astronomy and astrology in Iran during the Sasanian period (226-652)[1] is rendered difficult by the fact that none of the contemporary Persian works on these subjects written in the Pahlavi language have been preserved in their original form. But there are numerous passages in other texts of the Sasanian period, and especially in the apologetic literature of the ninth century[2], which give us some inkling of what those works were like. Thus, the *Bundahishn* devotes its second chapter to a discussion of the stars[3], and its fifth chapter is concerned with the horoscope of the creation of Gayômart, the first man, and with other astrological details[4]. The *Dênkart* informs us of the traditional Iranian view of the transmission of the science[5]; this account is repeated and supplemented by a Persian astrologer whom Hârûn al-Rashîd (786-809) placed in charge of his Khizânat al-ḥikma, Abû Sahl al-Faḍl ibn Nawbakht[6], in his *Kitâb al-Nahmaṭân*[7]. But it is mainly through the contemporaries of Ibn Nawbakht, of his father Nawbakht[8], and of his grandson

1. A brief survey from one point of view is given in my "Astronomy and Astrology in India and Iran", *Isis* 44, 1963, 229-246, esp. 240 sqq ; the present paper is intended to provide a more complete (though still non-technical) survey. Note that all dates, unless otherwise specified, are in the Christian Era.

2. The latest complete surveys of Pahlavî literature are J.C.Tavadia, *Die Mitte persische Sprache und Literature der Zarathustrier*, Leipzig, 1956, and J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l Iran ancien*, Paris, 1962, pp. 52-63. A new history by J.P. de Menasce will appear in the volume of the *Cambridge History of Iran* devoted to the Sasanian period.

3. Translated by W.B. Henning, "An astronomical Chapter of the Bundahishn", *JRAS*, 1942, 229-248.

4. The latest translation is by D.N. MacKenzie, "Zoroastrian Astrology in the *Bundahišn*", *BSOAS* 27, 1964, 511-529.

5. Translated by R.C. Zaehner, *Zurvan : A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 7-9.

6. See the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadîm, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871, p. 274; the *Kitâb ṭabaqât, al-umam* of Ṣâ<id al-Andalusî, ed. L. Cheikho, Beyrouth, 1912, p. 60; trans. R. Blachere, Paris, 1935, p.117; and the *Ta>rîkh a -ḥukamâ'* of Ibn al-Qifṭî, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 255 and 409.

7. Quoted by Ibn al-Nadîm, pp. 238-239 ; translated in my *The Thousands of Abû Ma>shar*, which is in press at the Warburg Institute, London.

8. Nawbakht, the astrologer of al-Manṣûr (754-775), assisted-Mâshâ>allâh in casting the horoscope of Baghdâd in Rabî I 141 A.H. (12 July-11 August 758) according to al-Ya'qûbî's *Kitâb al-Buldân*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, *BGA* 7, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1892, p. 238 (Cf. p. 241); but al-Bîrûnî in his *Al-Āthâr al-bâqiya 'an al qurûn al-khlâiya*, ed. C.E. Sachau, repr. Leipzig, 1923, pp. 270-271 ; trans. C.E. Sachau, London 1879, pp. 262-263, dates the horoscope 23 Tammûz 1074 of the Era of Alexander (24 July 762). See C.A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti*

al-Ḥasan[9] that we are able to learn something of the knowledge of the stars in Sasanian Iran. These Arabic sources will be described more fully later in this paper.

Sasanian astronomy, as is characteristic of Sasanian thought in most fields of science and philosophy, was syncretistic—a blend of concepts and methods derived not only from Iran's indigenous traditions, but also from those of her neighbours, and especially of India and the Hellenistic world (this latter influence was felt both directly through Greek and indirectly through Syriac). It is primarily the Indian influence that will be investigated here.

Our sources inform us that the first two Sasanian emperors—Ardashîr I (226-240) and Shâpûr I (240-270)—were dedicated to the expansion of the Iranian intellectual tradition, and supported the translations of Greek and Sanskrit books into Pahlavî[10]. Thus we know that versions were made of Ptolemy's *Syntaxis mathêmatikē*, which the *Dēnkart* calls M.g.st.yk. (Megistê, whence the name *al-Majisṭî*[11]; the ninth century scholar Manushchihr mentions Ptalamayus (Ptolemaios) in connection with Indian and Iranian astronomical tables *Zîk î Hindûk* and the *Zîk î Shahriyârân*)[13]. Also translated into Pahlavî from Greek were the hexameters of the *Pentateuch*, an astrological poem written in the first century

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editie inediti, vol. 5, Roma 1944, pp. 200-201. In fact, the horoscope quoted as Nawbhakt's by al-Bîrûnî can be dated 30th July 762 :

	al-Bîrûnî	Computation
Saturn	Aries 26 ; 40 retr.	Taurus 1
Jupiter	Sagittarius	Sagittarius 9 retr.
Mars	Gemini 2 ; 50	Gemini 6
Sun	Leo 8 ; 10	Leo 10
Venus	Gemini 29 ; 0	Cancer 2
Mercury	Cancer 25 ; 7	Cancer 26
Moon	Libra 19 ; 10	c. Libra 16

For the date 24 July 762 to be correct, the Moon would have to be in Cancer 19.

An anecdote involving Nawbakht, his son Abû Sahl, and the Caliph al-Manṣûr is recorded by Abû al-Faraj (Bar Hebraeus) in his *Ta'rîkh mukhtasar al-duwal*, 2nd. ed., Bayrut, 1958, p. 125. In the Nuruosmaniye Mosque in Istanbul MS 2951 ff. vv. 137-138 contain a *Kitâb fîhi sarâ' ir min aḥkâm al-nujûm* which is ascribed to Nawbakht, the Wise.

9. Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl ibn Nawbakht is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadîm, p. 527, and by Ibn al-Qifṭî, p. 165, besides being quoted by many astrologers. An extremely inaccurate prediction which he made for al-Wâthiq in Dhû al-ḥijja 232 A.H. (19 July - 16 August 847) is recorded by Abû al-Faraj, p. 141. He is perhaps identical with the al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl who represented al-Ma'mûn (813-833) in Irâq ; see, e.g., al-Ya'qûbî's *Ta'rîkh*, ed. Bayrût, 1960, vol. 2, pp. 445 sqq.

10. See the passage from the Dênkart cited in fn. 5, and that from Abû Sahl Ibn Nawbakht cited in fn. 7; *Cf.* also H.W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth century Books*, Oxford, 1943, pp. 80 sqq., and C.A. Nalline, "Tracce di opere greche giunte agli Arabi per, trafila pehlevica ", *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Professor E.G. Browne*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 345-363, repr. in his *Raccolta*, vol. 6, Roma, 1948, pp. 285-303.

11. Bailey, p. 86.

12. Bailey, p. 80. *Cf.* the history of Anûshirwân's *Zîj al Shâh* given below.

by Dorotheus of Sidon[13]., as well as an unknown text attributed to one Cedrus of Athens, the *Paranatellonta* of Teucer of Babylon, and the *Anthologiae* of Vettius Valens. Ibn Nawbakht tells us that there was also translated a work by an Indian named Faramâsb, which Justi conjectures to be Paramâśva[14].

Other Indian astronomical and astrological ideas were spread to Sasanian Iran through the translations of Buddhist texts which were made in the Eastern provinces of the empire. The *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*[15] was certainly known among the faithful of this area since the Parthian prince An Shi-kâo[16] translated the introductory story into Chinese in 148, and a long fragment of the Sanskrit text copied in c. 500 was found south of Yarkand[17]; this work contains a summary of the Babylonian-influenced astronomy and astrology which was current in India between c. 500 B.C. and 100 A.D.[18]. Another such text is the *Mahāmāyūrīmañjarî*[19], which deals in part with nakṣatra-astrology ; fragments of fifth century manuscripts are preserved among the Bower and Petrovski manuscripts from Kashgar. From such sources as these are probably derived the Iranian references to the nakṣatras[20], to Rāhu (who is called Gocihr)[21], and to shadow-tables[22].

The earliest attempt to compose a set of astronomical tables, the *Zîk-î Shahriyârân* (*Zîj al-Shâh* in Arabic)—however, was apparently composed in 450,, during the reign of Yazdijird II (438-457). A reference is preserved from this work by Ibn Yûnis in his *Zîj al-Hākimi*[23]: the longitude of the apogee of the Sun at Gemini 17 ; 55°. This parameter is derived from

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13. See my forthcoming edition of the fragments of the Greek original and of the Arabic translation of the Pahlavî made by 'Umar ibn al-Farrukhân in c. 800 ; a horoscope in the fourth book indicates that the Pahlavî version was revised in the early fifth century.

14. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, repr. Hildesheim, 1963, p. 90.

15. Edited by S. Mukhopadhyaya, Santiniketan, 1954; repr. in *Divyâvadâna*, ed. P.L. Vaidya, *BST* 20, Darbhanga, 1959, pp. 314-425.

16. E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, Leiden, 1959, vol. 1, pp. 32-34.

17. Edited by A.F.R. Hoernle, *JAS Bengal* 62, 1893, 9 - 17.

18. *Cf. Isis* 54, 1963, 231-233 and 240-241.

19. S. Oldenburg, *Zapiski Vostocnago otdyeleniya Imp. Russk. Arkheol. Obstchestva* 11, 1897-98, St. Petersburg, 1899, pp. 218-261 ; A.F.R. Hoernle, *The Bower Manuscript*, *ASI*, New Imp. Ser. 22, pts. 6-7, Calcutta, 1893-1912, pp. 220-240e and pls. xlix-liv; and S. Levi. " Le catalogue geographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahâmâyûrî ", *JA* 11 *e* ser., 5, 1915, 19-138.

20. *JRAS* 1942, 242-246. Henning's date (c. 500) is reasonable, though his method of arriving at it is open to question.

21. E.g., in the horoscope of Gaymôart in *BSOAS* 27, 1964, 513-517, and especially 515-516 where he is specifically compared to a serpent whose head and tail are separated by six zodiacal signs.

22. *Isis* 54, 1963, 240. On shadow-tables in Greek, see now O.Neugebauer, " Uber griechische Wetterzeichen und Schattentafeln", *Sitz. Ōsterreich. Akad. Wiss.*, Phil. - Hist. Kl. 240, 2, Wien 1962, 29-44.

23. E.S. Kennedy and B.L. van der Waerden, *JAOS* 83, 1963, 321 and 323.

the tradition of the *Paitāmahasiddhānta* of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*[24]. This *Paitāmahasiddhānta* is probably what Āryabhaṭa I (fl. 499) intended to refer to when he mentioned the *Svāyambhuva*[25]; it is extensively used by Brahmagupta in his *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* (628)[26], and evidently dates from the early fifth century. Perhaps it was composed during the reign of Candragupta II (c. 376-413), whom tradition asserts to have been a patron of learning, including Jyotiḥśâstra[27]. Some knowledge of it, then, either in a complete translation or in a freer summary, could easily have reached Iran by c. 450.

Āryabhaṭa I, besides writing his well-known *Āryabhaṭīya* to which reference has been made above, composed a second work in which he expounded his ārdharātrika or Midnight System. Though the original text of this work is now lost, the system is reported to us by Lāṭadeva (fl. 505) in his *Old Sūryasiddhānta*[28], by Bhāskara I (fl. c. 600) in his *Mahābhāskarīya*[29], and by Brahmagupta in his *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* (665)[30]. The evidence seems to indicate that one version of the ârdharâtrika system—probably Lāṭadeva's *Old Sūryasiddhānta*—was translated into Pahlavî before 550 and given a title like *Zîk î Arkand*; Arkand appears to be an attempt to render the Sanskrit 'ahargaṇa'. Ali Ibn Sulayman al-Hâshimî in his *Kitâb ilal al-zîjât*[31], which was written in c. 875, quotes from Mâshâ'allâh[32], a Persian Jew from Baṣra (*c*. 750-815),

24. *Viṣṇudharmottarapurâṇa* 2, 166-174 in the Veṅkaṭeśwara ed., Bombay, 1912; this *Paitâmahasiddhânta* was published separately from MS 36938 of the Sarasvatî Bhavan Library Benares, by V.P. Dvivedi in his *Jyautiṣasiddhântasaṃgraha*, *BSS* 39, fasc. 2, Benares, 1912, pt. 1. See my "The Persian 'Observation' of the Solar Apogee in *ca.* A.D. 450", *JNES* 24, 1965, 334-336.

25. *Āryabhaṭīya* with the *Bhâṣya* of Nîlakaṇṭha Somasutvan, *TSS* 101, 110, and 185, Trivandrum, 1930-1957, *Golapâda* 50; See also Svayambhû mentioned by Garga in the verses quoted by Nîlakaṇṭha *ad loc.* : vol. 3, p. 162.

26. Edited by Sudhâkara Dvivedin, Benares, 1902. I am preparing a new edition to be accompanied by the valuable commentary of Pṛthûdakasvâmin (fl. 864).

27. See pseudo-Kâlidâsa, *Jyotirvidâbharaṇa*, ed. Sîtârâma Śarmâ, Bombay, 1908, 22, 8-12.

28. This is summarised by Varâhamihira (fl. c. 550) in his *Pañcasiddhāntika*, ed. G. Thibaut and S. Dvivedin, Benares, 1889, chapters 16 and 17; I am preparing a new edition of this work also, based on a number of manuscripts not known to the first editors. For Lâṭadeva's authorship of the *Old Sûryasiddhânta*, see al-Bîrûnî's *Kitâb fî tahqîq mâ li 'l-Hind*, ed. Hyderabad, 1958, p. 118 ; trans. E.C. Sachau, London, 1910, vol. 1, p. 153.

29. *Mahâbhâskarîya*, ed. K.S. Shukla, Lucknow, 1960, 7, 21-35.

30. The recension of Pṛthûdakasvâmin was published in an inadequate edition based only on the Berlin manuscript by P.C. Sengupta, Calcutta, 1941, and translated by the same scholar, Calcutta 1934 ; the later recension of Amarâja, who apparently flourished in the thirteenth century, was published by Babua Misra, Calcutta, 1925. I have discovered two manuscripts of the important commentary by Utpala (fl.966), which was also known to al-Bîrûnî.

31. An edition with translation and commentary of this work is being prepared by E.S. Kennedy and myself ; the present reference is to 95 : 15sqq.

32. The collaborator with Nawbakht in casting the horoscope of Bâghdad in 762, Mâshâ' allâh was one of the foremost astrologers of the early 'Abbâsid priod ; see, e.g., Ibn al-Nîdum, pp. 273-274, Ibn al-Qufṭî, p. 327, and Abû al-Faraj, p. 136. See also Kennedy and Pingree, *The Astrological History of Mashâ'allâh*, which is shortly to appear.

the story that the Sasanian emperor Khusro Anûshirwân called together his astronomers and astrologers to compare Ptolemy (the Pahlavî version of the *Syntaxis*) with the *Zîj al-Arkand* the Pahlavî presentation of the ārdharātrika system). They found the *Zîj al-Arkand* to be preferable both astronomically and astrologically, and so wrote for Anûshirwân a *Zîj al-Shâh* (*Zîk î Shahriyârân*) based upon it and using four kardajas[33]. This story is substantiated and added to by a passage in the *Al-Qânûn al-Mas ûdî* of al-Bîrûnî[34], who informs us that the convocation of astrologers took place in the twenty-fifth year of Anûshirwân or 555/6.

Mâshâ'allâh used this sixth century version of the *Zîk î Shahriyârân* in computing horoscopes, especially those for his aṣtrological history of the world. A summary of this history has fortunately been preserved by a Christian astrologer of Baghdâd, Ibn Hibintâ (fl. c. 950), in his *Kitâb al-Mughnî* ; and from the sixteen horoscopes that this summary contains it has been possible to extract a fair amount of information about this *zîk's* theory of Saturn and Jupiter[35]. Its relation to the ārdharātrika system is, in fact, not very close, being most evident in its choice of values for the maximum equations and in its use of the method of sines for computing the *mandaphala*.

Mâshâ 'allâh, in the same passage from al-Hâshimî that has been mentioned above, refers to yet another version of the *Zîj al-Shâh*, composed under the last of the Sasanian emperors, Yazdijird III (632-652) ; this was called " The Triple" because it utilized only three kardajas. It is apparently this text which was translated into Arabic by Abû al-Ḥasan 'Alî ibn Ziyâd al-Tamîmî[36]. and which is quoted extensively by al-Hâshimî and by al-Bîrûnî[37]. It seems clear that al-Bîrûnî (whom we shall discuss more fully below) used Yazdijird III's version of the *Zîj-al-Shâh* when he composed his *Zîj al-Sindhind* (*Siddhānta*) in 770/1 or 772/3[38], but it is not certain whether he used the Pahlavî original or was already able to refer to al-Tamîmî's translation.

This brief survey has demonstrated that, on a professional level, Sasanian astronomy was influenced by two Indian traditions : that of the *Paitāmaha-siddhānta* of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* and that of the ārdharātrika system of Āryabhaṭa I. It might not be out of place here to record also the theory found in the fifth chapter of the *Bundahishn*[39] and repeated in numerous

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33. Kardaja is an attempt to render the Sanskrit *Kramajyā* ; for its significance see the commentary of al-Hâshimî, *passim*.

34. Ed. Hyderabad, 3 vols., 1954-56 : vol. 3, pp. 1473-74.

35. See the forthcoming publication cited in fn. 32.

36. Ibn al-Nadîm, p. 244.

37. See, for example, E.S. Kennedy, " The Sasanian Astronomical Handbook *Zîj-i Shâh* and the Astrological Doctrine of ' Transit ' (*mamarr*) ", *JAOS* 78, 1958, 246-262.

38. The details are discussed in my article, " The Fragments of the Works of Ya 'qûb, ibn Ṭâriq ".

39. *BSOAS* 27, 1964, 516-517 and 519.

other Iranian sources[40] that explains the *śīghraphalas* by means of chords linking the planets to the chariot of the Sun; these chords are surely the *vātaraśmis* of the *Modern Sūryasiddhānta*[41].

Equally impressive is the Indian influence on Sasanian astrology. The fifth century revision of the Pahlavî translation of Dorotheus of Sidon, for instance, mentioned and used the navâṃśas. The horoscope of Gayômart in the fifth chapter of the *Bundahishn* is not the Hellenistic *thema mundi*[42], but the Indian horoscope for the birth of the highest type of *mahāpuruṣa* in which all the planets are in their exaltations[43]. And the Islamic astrologers of the early Abbâsid period quote many Persian (*i.e.*, Sasanian) authors who have used Indian sources ; we mention here only Buzurjmihr and Andarzghar[44].

The first Arabic astronomical text, however, based directly on a Sanskrit source was a *Zîj al-Arkand* written in Sind in A.H. 117, which equals 103 of the Era of Yazdijird (735)[45]; since this work employs as its base-date the year Śaka 587, it is clear that it was influenced by Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*. Al-Bîrûnî revised this *Zîj- al-Arkand* because its language was so atrocious[46]. According to al-Hâshimî[47] two abridgements of the *Zîj al-Arkand* were made in Qandahar: a *Zîj al-Arkand* and a *Zîj al-Hazûr*. Furthermore, a series of horoscopes of the two equinoxes of the years in which the Sasanian emperors began their reigns was computed by means of the ārdharātrika system (the *Zîj al-Arkand* ?) towards the end of the eighth century[48].

A second late 'Ummayid work influenced by Indian astronomy is the *Zîj al-Harqan* cited by al-Bîrûnî[49]; *harqan* is clearly another attempt to transliterate *ahargaṇa*. The epoch of this *zîj* is Sunday 21 Daymâh 110 of the Era of Yazdijird, or 11 March 742. Little else is known of it.

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40. *Isis* 54, 1963, 242.

41. Ed. K. Chaudhary, *KSS* 144, Benares 1946, 2, 2.

42. See, e.g., A. Bouche-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, Paris, 1899, repr. Bruxelles, 1963, pp. 185-188.

43. See *Yavanajâtaka* 8, 3-5 and 9, 1 ; my edition is in the press, and will appear in the *Harvard Oriental Series*. Note that in the *Bhudahishn* the Sun is in the first nakṣatra; this allows it to be in its exaltation according to Indian astrologers (Aries 10°), but not according to Greek astrologers (Aries 19°).

44. Some of the major Arabic sources are : pseudo-Mâshâ' allâh in MS 2122 of the Laleli Mosque, Istanbul; the *Kitâb a -Masâ'il* of Abû Yûsuf Ya'qûb ibn Alî al-Qaṣrânî (fl. c. 810); the *Kitâb aṣl al-uṣûl* of Abû al- 'Anbas Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣaymarî (died 888/9); the various works of Sahl ibn Bishr and of Abû Ma'shar (787-886) ; the *Kitâb al-Mughnî* of Ibn Hibintâ; and the *Mxjmû aqâwîl al-ḥukamâ al-munajjimîn* of al-Dâmaghânî (fl. 1113/4)

45. Al-Bîrûnî, *India*, ed. pp. 383-384, trans., vol. 2, pp. 48-49.

46. D.J. Boilot, " L'oeuvre d'al-Beruni ; essai bibliographique " *M-DEO* 2, 1955, 161 256, RG 6.

47. *Kitâb 'ilal al-zîjât* 94: 2sqq.

48. D. Pingree, " Historical Horoscopes ", *JAOS* 82, 1962, 487-502 ; and now, *The Thousands of Abû Ma'shar*, section X B.

49. *India*, ed. p. 387, trans., vol. 2, pp. 52-53.

But the most influential translation was that of a work apparently called the *Mahāsiddhānta*[50]. The basic planetary parameters of this work belonged to the tradition of the *Paitāmahasiddhānta* of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* and the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* of Brahmagupta, though it also included elements derived from the *Āryabhaṭīya*. According to the *Nizâm al-iqd* of Ibn al-Adamî (c. 920), which was completed by al-Qâsim ibn Muhammad al-Madâ'inî in 949/50, a man from India brought this text (which is associated with Fiyaghra, *i.e.*, Vyāghramukha, the Câpa prince under whom Brahmagupta wrote) to Baghdad in 772/3, and the Caliph al-Manṣûr ordered Muhammad ibn Ibrahîm al-Fazârî to translate it ; al-Bîrûnî, who says that the man from India was a member of a delegation from Sind, dates his coming to Baghdad in 770/1. Al-Fazârî obeyed the Caliph, and the result was his *Zîj pal-Sindhind al-Kabîr*; but he was influenced in his choice of values for the maximum equations of the planets more by the *Zîj al-Shâh* than by the *Mahāsiddhānta*. At a later date al-Fazârî wrote another *zîj* based by the same parameters, but with the planetary mean motions tabulated for saura days and using the Hijra calendar instead of that of the Yazdijird III.

Descended from the *Zîj al-Sindhind al-Kabîr* are a large number of texts; the earliest were due to Yaqûb ibn Ṭâriq, who composed a *zîj*, an interesting book entitled *Tarkîb al-aflâk* (written in 777/8), and *Kitâb al-ilal* all of which drew heavily upon the Indian and Sasanian sources mentioned above. The authorship of the *Zîj al-Sindhind al-Ṣaghîr* remains obscure, though its writing must have been approximately contemporaneous with al-Fazârî and Ya'qûb ibn Ṭâriq; and from al-Hâshimî we learn some details of yet a third *Zîj al-Sindhind* which was apparently written in 792/3.

But the most famous *Zîj al-Sindhind* is that of Muhammad ibn Mûsâ al-Khwârizmî (fl. 828), who is known to have written it for the Caliph al-Mamûn (809-833)[51]. Of the Arabic original only fragments, survive[52]; but a recension of it was made in Spain by Maslama ibn Aḥmad al-Majrîṭî (died 1007/8) or by his pupil Ibn al-Ṣaffâr (died 1035). This recension, lost to us in its original Arabic, is preserved in a Latin translation made by Adelhard of Bath in 1126[53]. Besdies this translation a number of important commentaries are

50. Al-Bîrûnî in the *India*, ed. p. 356, calls it the *Sidhând al-kabîr*. The evidence supporting the statements made in the next two paragraphs will be found assembled in my article, " The Fragments of the Works of Ya'qûb ibn Ṭâriq ", and in Kennedy and Pingree's edition of al-Hâshimî ; it is not necessary to repeat it all here.

51. See the passage from Ibn al-Adamî translated in my " The Fragments of the Works of Ya'qûb ibn Ṭâriq "; on al-Khwârizmî himself see, inter al., Ibn al-Nadîm, p. 274, and Ibn al-Qifṭî, p. 286.

52. Besides the numerous quotations and references in al-Hâshimî and al-Bîrûnî and the lommata in the commentary of Ibn Masrûr, chapters of the *Zîj al-Sindhind* are found in Ibn Hibintâ's *Kitâb al-Mughnî* (München Arab 852 ff. vv. 33-37) and in Nuruosmaniye 2795 ff. vv. 65-66.

53. Edited by A. Bjornbo R. Besthorn, and H. Suter Kobenhavn 1914 ; English translation and commenttary by O. Neugebauer, Kobenhan 1962. *See also* G. Toomer in *Centaurus* 10, 1964, 23-212.

known. That by Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Kathîr al-Farghânî[54], who flourished under al-Mamûn and his immediate successors, is extensively quoted by al-Hâshimî and al-Bîrûnî[55]. The *Kitâb ilal al-zîjât* preserved in a unique manuscript in Cairo and attributed to Ibn Masrûr, the pupil of Abû Ma'shar (787-886), is, in fact, another commentary on al-Khwârizmî's *Zîj al-Sindhind.* The Arabic original of the commentary written by Ahmad ibn al-Muthanna' in the tenth or eleventh century is now lost , but we do have of it a Latin translation[56] made by Hugo of Sanctalla in northern Spain for Michael, the Bishop of Tarazona from 1119 to 1151, and a Hebrew translation[57] made by Abraham ibn Ezra of Tudela in c. 1160. Three other commentators namely, Abû Ṭalḥa, Abû al-Ḥasan al-Ahwâzî[58], and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Hâshimî[59]—are recorded by al-Bîrûnî[60]. Other authors of *zîjes* based in whole or in part on the *Zîj al-Sindhind* are Abû Ma'shar[61], Ḥabash al-Ḥâsib (c. 850)[62], al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ṣabbâḥ (c. 870)[63], al-Faḍl ibn Ḥâtim al-Nayrîzî (c. 900)[64] the sons of Amâjûr (c. 910)[65], and Ibn al-Adamî[66]; all of these lived and worked in the eastern regions of the Islam world. The Spanish tradition of the *Sindhind* is represented, as well as by those authors mentioned previously in connection with al-Khwârizmî, by Ibn al-Samḥ (c. 1010)[67], al-Jahânî (1079), whose *zîj* survives in a Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona (1114-1187)[68], and al-Zarqâlla (c. 1100)[69].

Besides the *Zîj al-Arkand* and the *Zîj- al-Sindhind*, the only other Indian astronomical text mentioned in early Muslim sources is the *Zîi al-Arjabhar* (*Āryabhaṭīya*). This, however, was evidently very imperfectly known, the only Abbâsid astronomer who had any real knowledge of its planetary theory seems to have been the commentator on al-Khwârizmî, Abû al-Ḥasan al-Ahwâzî[70]. Others, however, are said to have studied in India ; Muhammad

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54. See, e.g., Ibn al-Nadîm, p. 279, and Ibn al-Qifṭî, pp. 78 and 286.

55. See Kennedy and Pingree's edition of al-Hâshimî.

56. A very poor edition was published by E. Milla's Vendrell, Madrid—Barcelona, 1963.

57. See the forthcoming edition by B. Goldstein in the Yale Univrsity Press. Abraham ibn Ezra also has valuable information on the *Sindhind* tradition in his *De rationibus tabularum*, ed. J.M. Milla's Vallicrosa, Madrid-Barcelona, 1947.

58. Boilot, RG. 2 and 3.

59. *Rasâlil a-Bîrûnî*, ed. Hyderabad, 1948, pt. 1, p. 118.

60. See also his own work, Boilot, RG 1.

61. For his *Zîjal-Hazârât* see my *The Thousands of Abû Ma'shar.*

62. E. S. Kennedy, " A Survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables ",*TAPhS, NS.* 46, 1956, 123-177, nos. 15 and 16.

63. Kennedy, " Survey ", No. 31.

64. Kennedy, " Survey ", Nos. 46 and 75.

65. Kennedy, " Survey ", No. 90.

66. Kennedy, " Survey ", No. 18.

67. Kennedy, " Survey ", No. 26.

68. Ed. J. Heller, Nuremburg, 1549.

69. Kennedy, " Survey ", No. 24.

70. Al-Bîrûnî, *India*, ed. p. 357, trans., vol. 2. 19.

ibn Ismâîl al-Tanûkhî, for instance, is supposed to have brought back curious notions regarding trepidation from India[71]. In fact, the value of precision arrived at by Yaḥyâ ibn abî Manṣûr after he observed the equinox of 19 September 830 is that which pertains to the *Old Sūryasiddhānta* of Lāṭadeva and to various other Sanskrit texts[72].

Besides the astronomer in the delegation sent from Sind in the early 770's a number of Indian astrologers visited Baghdad in the Abbâsid period. The most notable of these was Kanaka, who served Harûn al-Rashîd ; he is perhaps identical with the homonymous astrologer cited by Kalyâṇavarman in his *Sārāvalī*[73]. Other Sanskrit names are corruptedly recorded by Ibn al-Nadîm[74]: J.w.d.r, S.n.j.h.l, N.h.q, Râḥ. h, Ṣ.k.h, Dâh.r, An. k.w, Z.n.k.l, Ar.y.k.l, J.b.h.r. An.d.y, and J.bâr.y. The fourth of these names should undoubtedly be read Râja ; he is an astrologer frequently quoted by such Arabic compilers as al-Qaṣrânî and al-Ṣaymarî. Through such works as these the theories of Indian astronomy and astrology came to permeate the scientific literature of the Muslim and Christian worlds long before Vasco da Gama sailed boldly onto the Indian Ocean.

71. Ṣâ'id al-Andalusî ed. p. 56, trans. p. 112, and Ibn al-Qifṭî, p. 281.

72. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18, 1964, 138.

73. For a discussion of Kanaka, see my *The Thousands of Abû Ma'shar* and " The Fragments of the Works of Ya'qûb ibn Ṭâriq. "

74. *Fihrist*, p. 271.

ŚRĪ VIJAYA AND THE PHILIPPINES : A REVIEW

By

JUAN R. FRANCISCO, *Manila*

It seems superfluous that the present paper should deal with a subject that has been extensively worked up by various writers. But these works, though they appear exhaustive, show many vague points that need clarification in the light of new insights in the relationships-actual or assumed—between the then Śrī Vijaya Empire and the Philippines between the 7th or earlier and the early 14th centuries A.D.

The review that follows will be on the major works[1] written on the subject. These will be discussed one after the other from the earliest work to the latest. The views of the present writer will be expressed in the text of the review, and the critique will be made in comparison with those of the present writer's.

Perhaps, it would not be ill-considered to present briefly here the history of the Śrī Vijaya empire as discussed by the writers on the subject. H.O. Beyer[2] does not mention the inscriptions[3] that tell of the origins and development of the empire. Neither does he cite the Arabo-Persian records[4] and the Chinese dynastic annuals that apparently corroborate the inscriptions. He does not state how he arrived at his conclusions, which have become the basis of many a doubtful interpretation by later scholars (*vide infra* for further

1. The following are the works that deal with the problem, and have influenced later interpretations and further studies :

(*a*) H.O. Beyer, *A History of the Orient* (G. N. Steiger and C. Benitez, collaborators),. p. 110, et seq ; *Philippine Saga* (Jaime de Veyra, Col.), Chapter 4, p. 17, et seq.

(*b*) Elizabeth Hassel, " The Sri Vijaya and Majapahit Empires, and the Theory of their Political Association with the Philippines, " PSSHR, XVIII, 1, March, 1953.

(*c*) Fr. Alberto Santamaria, "Visaya, 'El Victorioso ", *Unitas*, Año 33, no. 2, 1960.

(*d*) John Carroll, " The word Bisaya in the Philippines and Borneo ", Paper presented to and read at the Borneo-Phillippine Cultural Seminar, at Kuching, Sarawak, June 6-12, 1961. Now published in the *Sarawak Museum Journal*, 1961, pp. 499-541.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 110, et seq.

3. *Vide* K.A. Nilakantha Sastri, *History of Śrī Vijaya* (Madras, 1949), Appendices. He lists all the inscriptions relevant to the history of the empire. *Vide* furthermore earlier works which Nilakantha Sastri cites in his book on this problem : G. Coedēs, " La Royaume de Śrī Vijaya", BEFEO, XVIII, 6, 1918; "Les Inscriptions Malaisesr de Śrī Vijaya", BEFEO, XXX 1930 ; G. Ferrand, " Comptes Rendus du G. Coedes, 'Le Royaume de Śrī Vijaya' *Journal Asiatique*, 11e serie, t. xiv, Jul.—Aug. 1919; "L' Empire Sumatranais de Śrī Vijaya," *Journal Asiatique*, Jul-Sept., 1922.

4. G. Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages et Textes Georgraphiques Arabes, Persans et Turks Relatifs a* 1 '*Extreme Orient du VIII e au* XVII*e Siecles*. Trad., rev., et ann. Paris, 1913-1914. 2 tomes.

references to this point). We are therefore in a position to question the conclusions, although we owe it to him in the Philippines that he had pioneered in this field of study.

Elizabeth Hassel in her monograph[5] discusses all the evidences that usher the Śrī Vijaya empire into the full light of history. However, in the reference to the four inscriptions that had been discovered by G. Coedès and interpreted by him, she has the following to say[6]: .

" In addition to the notices......from the Chinese Annals relating to Śrī Vijaya's early history, Professor K.A. Nilakantha Sastri......cites three inscriptions found in the vicinity of Palembang in Sumatra which *furnish further information.*" (Italics supplied)

Hassel cites K.A. Nilakantha Sastri's "Śrī Vijaya" in BEFEO, XL, 2, 1940, and enumerates the three inscriptions : (1) Kedukan Bukit from Palembang, dated Śaka 605 (A.D. 683) ; (2) Talang Tawo, also at Palembang, dated Śaka 606 (A.D. 684); and (3) Karang Brahi at Jambi, dated Śaka 608 (A.D. 686). A fourth inscription, which she cites from G. Ferrand, "L' Empire Sumatranais de Śrīvijaya", *Journal Asiatique*, July-September, 1922, p. 36, according to her is a duplicate of the third inscription found in the island of Bangka, in the village of Kota Kapu , Śaka 608 (A.D. 686).

In the above citation, there are two fundamental points with which the present writer, who had studied the inscriptions first-hand, could not agree. The first point is that it apparently leads to the inference that Coedès did not know the inscriptions which Hassel believes to have been found by Nilakantha Sastri as *further evidence* to the existence of the empire. This inference is certainly erroneous for, Coedès[7] presented these three inscriptions including the fourth found in the Island of Bangka in his earliest paper revealing the existence of the empire. Nilakantha Sastri[8] points out that these inscriptions are the earliest evidences that announce the Śrī Vijaya Empire "into the full light of history."

In point of fact, Coedès[9] already knew of the inscriptions from as early as 1930 and even earlier in his 1918 monograph; and Hassel's attribution to Nilakantha Sastri, whose work comes to light a decade later[10] would

5. *Op. cit.*

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

7. " Les Incriptions Malaises de Śrī Vijaya " BEFEO, XXX, 1930, *Cf.*, his earlier paper on the subject, Le Royaume de Śrī Vijaya ", BEFEO, XVIII, 1918.

8. *History of Śrī Vijaya* (Madras, 1949). This is not known to Hassel.

9. BEFEO, XXX, 1930.

10. " Śrī Vijaya, " BEFCO, XL, 2, 1940.

rob credit from the former.[11] In fact, Ferrand's work[12] on the same inscriptions comes earlier than Nilakantha Sastri's by eight years.

The second point is even more interesting; for, Hassel again believes that Coedès did not know the "identical" inscriptions—the Karang Brahi on the River Jambi and the Kapur on the Bangka Island. She believes the Kota Kapur inscription to be a "duplicate" of the Karang Brahi. This is not exactly so, for Coedès himself already recognised this to be partly identical [Leurs deux textes, enpartie identiques, prononcent does mènaces et des mâledictions contre les inhabitants du haut Batang Hari (la riviere de Jambi dont le basin devait constiteur le territoire du Malayu) et de l'ile de Bangka......][13].

It must also be noted here that Nilakantha Sastri, whose work was extensively used by Hassel in her monograph, used the works of Coedès and Ferrand, particularly the former who pioneered in the studies of Śrī Vijaya history.

The two other papers (*vide* fn.1) do not discuss the problem of the origins of the empire in a manner in which they cite the early works of writers. John Carroll in his paper makes only a passing reference to the historical origins of the empire ; while Fray Santamaria ignores this reference entirely.

On the theory of the political Association between the Philippines and Śrī Vijaya, the present writer will now discuss the views on the problem.

It is an accepted fact that Beyer's view[14] on the association of the Śrī Vijaya empire with the Philippines in ancient times had become the basis of

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11. *Vide* and *Cf.* G. Coèdes, *Les Ètats Hindouisès de ' Indochine et d'Indonesie* (Paris 1948) for a very cogent discussion of the problem. Apparently, Hassel did not known this work, for this is not cited in her monograph.

12. " Quatre Textes epigraphiques Malayo-Sanscrites de Sumatra et de Bangka ", *Journal Asiatique*, Oct.-Dec., 1932. This is not also known by Hassel.

13. In *Les Ètats* ....etc... pp. 144-145. *Vide* Note 11, *supra*.

14. *Vide* his " The Phillippines before Magellan ", *Asia Magazine* (October-November, 1921) :

" It is evident that before the end of the 10th century both the west and south coasts of that Island (Borneo) had been colonized and were in fairly frequent communication with Sumatra. The number of colonies is unknown, but at least four were of considerable importance : Bandjarmasin, Sukadana, a place in Southern Sarawak and Brunei. The first and the last-named places sent off-shoots into the Philippines........."

And also his *A History of the Orient* (with Steiger and Benitez), p. 123 :

" It seems evident from a study of various facts that the Visayan in Borneo and those in the Philippines are not only of a common origin, but also closely allied to the peoples of South Central Sumatra. This term is almost certainly a direct survival of the spread of colonies from the preBuddhist Sri Vishaya State into Western Borneo and from there into the central Philippines........... "

These are cited in Hassel, pp. 34-35.

later interpretations[15] which even go beyond the " evidence " that Beyer utilized. It is interesting to note that the conclusions arrived at by Hassel (after an extensive examination of the primary materials in translation) had been independently reached by the present writer (after examining the original inscriptions as corroborated by the Arabo-Persian and Chinese records). The present writer also examined the Sanskrit and Tamil inscriptions from Madras, Bengal and Nepal which bear on the Śrī Vijaya empire[16].

There are three points-Sanskrit in Philippine languages, scripts, and pre-Islamic religion of the Islands—which are referred to by Hassel in her monograph, but which, on the whole, do not necessarily bear much relation to the present review. These will, however, be dealt with in separate papers which will soon be forthcoming.[16-a]

But relevant to the present view are two citations by her, e.g., " Professor Beyer's present position is that cultural influence from Śrī Vijaya variously affected several areas of the Philippine archipelago, but that the empire did not necessarily maintain direct political relations with any section of the Archipelago, "[17] and " Professor Beyer seems to think that there is enough evidence of an archeological and anthropological nature to warrant the use of the term " Śrī Vijaya Period " in Philippine history. "[18] These citations are documented thus: "As ascertained from personal conversations with Professor Beyer in January and February, 1952 " and " Based upon conversations with Professor Beyer during January and February, 1952 " (fn. 17, p. 40), respectively. These are very crucial, while they may not be considered as such by Hassel. Furthermore, Hassel herself records that she cannot agree with Professor Beyer's statements, and the latter's " authority " wlll have to be questioned in the light of the cruciality of the " evidence (s) ".

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15. These later interpretations may be found in G. F. Zaide, *Philippine History for Catholic Elementary Schools* (Manila, 1950), p. 11, : " The first Malay empire was the Sri Vishaya empire. It arose in Sumatra about the 8th century following the decline of Hindu power in Malaysia. It ruled over Ceylon, Malay Peninsula, Java, Celebes, Borneo, Moluccas, and the Phillippines .... "

And G. A. Malcolm, *First Malayan Republic* (Boston, 1951), p. 64, : " From the 3rd century A.D., parts of the Philippines were successively dominated by the colourful Indo-Malayan empire of Sri Vishaya, with its seat of power in Sumatra........"

These are also cited in Hassel, pp. 35-36.

16. The present writer reached his conclusions independently in his doctoral dissertation 'Indian Influences in the Philippines (With Special Reference to Language and Literature),' prepared at the University of Madras, 1964.

It must be noted that the present writer did not know of Hassel's monograph during the period of his researches in the University of Madras, India ; that this monograph came to his notice only after he joined the Institute of Asian Studies of the University of the Philippines.

16-a. A monograph on Philippine Palaeography is now in preparation by the present writer, which is going to the press in a few months' time. In this work, it is postulated that Philippine scripts have their earliest origins in the South Indian Pallava Grantha scripts.

17. Hassel, p. 35.

18. *Ibid*, p. 40.

Hassel's use of the conversaticn to ascertain questions of fact has put herself under question, for if the cruciality of the problem of fact were to be decided by mere conversations with " authority ", the problems of Philippine historiography could have been already solved long ago owing to the rather *great number* of " authorities " on Philippine history.

Indeed, the archaeological and anthropological eveidnces "to warrant" the use of the term, 'Śrī Vijaya Period' in Philippine history" is crucial ! In the above-mentioned independent research conducted by the present writer, it is evident that no archaeological (and anthropological) artifact could be presented to support the theory. It is even doubtful " that publications of studies Professor Beyer has in progress...... "[19] would give any substantial evidence to convince us of the "authority" posed by the learned Professor, that Hassel has convincingly doubted, and about which the present writer also holds reasonable skepticism.

The latest and very extensive archeological excavations in Calatagan, Batangas,[20] and other sites in the Islands do not reveal traces of the empire that will lead us to accept the phrase "Śrī Vijaya Period of Philippine History." Further examination of the finds by the present writer from these sites, at the National Museum of the Philippines, where they are now either displayed or deposited, gives us no proof to warrant the phrase.[21]

There is one image excavated at Calatagan which has been identified by the present writer after a close study of the image, as the Siamese Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi, which is Buddhistic, for, there seems to be traces of lotus (*padma*) held by the right hand (*pāṇi*) with its stem projecting down to the foot of the image.[22]

Earlier, the present writer stated that Fray Santamaria in his very recent paper (vide fn. 1) does not discuss the history of Śrī Vijaya. Hence, it is not necessary to pursue further the discussions commenced above. Fray Santamaria's " discourse " on the Śrī Vijaya-Philippine relations are founded primarily on those by Beyer, Alip, Zaide, and Hassel, whose views had already been examined.

The Fray's main line of study is the burden of proof of the " origins " of the word (Phil.) *visaya*, which he interprets as " El Victorioso " (The Victorious). He presents " evidences " to this effect ; and after spending twenty printed pages, including a table of the " Varias formulla palabra 'visaya' " (various forms of the word *Visaya* in " Hindu (sic), Melayo, Filipino, Borneo, Chino, Japono), he arrives at the following conclusions :

19. *Ibid*.

20. *Vide* Robert B. Fox, *The Calatagan Excavations* (Rep. from *Philippine Studies*, VII, 3, August, 1959, pp. 325-390., with Plates A-B ; 1-65).

21. The present writer read through all the Annual Reports of the Anthropology Division, National Museum, for the years from 1955 up to 1961, and no mention of sites which yielded traces of the Empire is made.

22. The image has been identified in a Paper " A Buddhist Image from Karitunan Sites Batangas Province, " *Asian Studies*, Vol. I, November 1963.

"(1) Que la palabra *visaya* no es Tagala, Visaya, Filipina, o Malayo, sino que es Sancrita (That the word *visaya* is not Tagalog, Visaya, Philippine, or Malay, but it is Sanskrit).

"(2) Que *Pintados* no es traduccion de la misma sino solamente sinonima (That *Pintados*-painted-is not a translation of the same-Visayan-but a synonym).

"(3) Que *Visaya* significa en su origen "victoria" y "victorioso" (That *Visaya* means "Victory" or "victorious" in its origin).

"(4) Que aunque en su origen fuera *historica* en la India y acaso en las colonias Palavas, en Filipinas, Borneo, y Formosa es etnographica, como dijo Retana[23] ....(That although in its origin it were historical (in India) and in the Pallava Colonies ; in the Philippines, Borneo and Formosa it is ethnographic.

"(5) Podemos anadir que el grupo principal etnografico de los Visayas se halla en Filipinas, y es el nucleo mas numeroso de esta." (We may add that the principal ethnographic group of the Visayas is found in the Philippines, and it is the nucleous of the greater number of this group).

There are two major problems that become evident from the conclusions which will be discussed in the subsequent pages. Antecedent to this, the present writer wishes to discuss many points of inconsistency and irrelevant points in the paper. The discussion will be done in conjunction with the work of John Carroll (*vide* fn. 1), because it presents a number of aspects which are relevant to our discourse on Fray Santamaria's.

Moreover, the discussion of these points—minor or superfluous though they may be- would show us the main line of Fray Santamaria's arguments, which later on will eventually lead us to the two major problems referred to above.

Point 1.—" Segun Steifer-Beyer-Benitez dicha palabra *visayas* se aplico a las habitantes de dichas islas por la colonia que el emperio Indonesiano Sri Vishaya que florecio en Sumatra desde el siglo VIII hasta el siglo XIV, ideas que aceptan los Sres. Alip y Zaide"[24]. (According to Steiger, Beyer, and Benitez, the word *Visayas* applied to the inhabitants of said islands colonized by the Indonesian empire-Śrī Viṣaya-that flourished in Sumatra from the 8th to the 14th centuries, a view accepted by Messrs. Alip and Zaide).

This point shows two major aspects, that perhaps this point alone will lead us to reject the conclusions of Fray Santamaria. The first aspect is the obvious inference that Alip and Zaide have accepted the Steiger-Beyer -Benitez theory, perhaps on the basis of a re-examination of the latter's evidence and presenting new evidence to uphold further the theory. But an

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23. Fray Santamaria cites Retana's edition of Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1609), pp. 19, 187-189 ; and *Glosario General a los Sucesos de Morga*, p. 140, fn. nos. 23 and 28, respectively.

24. *Ibid*, pp. 344, 349. (The work cited by Santamaria are Steiger, Beyer, Benitez *A History of the Orient* ; Alip, *Philippine Civilization* ; Zaide, *Catholicism*..

examination of the former writer's works, we are led to the view that there is nothing new in their *acceptance*. Alip's and Zaide's are merely repetitions of Beyer's. Moreover, none of these writers cite the inscriptions and the Arabo-Persian records that tell of the Śrī Vijaya empire[25].

The second aspect is even more interesting. Alip and Zaide also accept without question the date of the empire's appearance in the 8th century A. D., which shows again the lack of familiarity of these " writers " with the primary evidences. According to the inscriptions, Śrī Vijaya came to the full light of history in the 7th century A. D. (*vide supra*). This date is no longer a question of debate.

Point 2.—The second point is a general discussion of the origin of the word *visaya*, and its "development" from the "original" (Santamaria does not say which)[26]. He waxes eloquent when he points out that *visaya* is synonymous with *Pintados* (*vide* Conclusion No. 2) ; then he discusses the meaning of the word as a synonym of the latter, *Pintados*, in Malay, Tagalog, Mandarin, etc. He writes : " Asi pues, la palabra ' visaya ' ni es Filipina, ni Malayo, sino que como veremos despues, esta tomado del Sancrita, y significa ; *victoria*, victorioso.[27]

(Therefore, the word *visaya* is not philippine nor Malay, but as we will see later, this is derived from Sanskrit, meaning, "victory", "victorious.") Towards the middle of this section, he cites various Spanish writers who discuss the word *visaya* (bisaya) pointing out to the synonymity of the *visaya* and *pintado*. Suddenly towards the end of this discussion, he brings into the picture the Pallavas and the Colas.[28] He makes a very interesting statement that the Pallavas were the founders of the Śrī Viṣaya (sic) empire [Sri Vishaya, " Sagrada conquista, Victoria de Sri " (sacred Victory, victory of Sri)].

Throughout the section we see gross mis-representations of facts which the present writer intends to discuss. But the reference to the Pallavas will be discussed here. It is clear that his citation goes back to Zaide,[29] who himself cites Beyer.[30] There is strictly no evidence to put us on solid ground that the Pallavas founded the Śrī Vijaya empire.[31] It is true that the earliest

25. *Cf.* Notes Nos. 14, and 15, *supra*.
26. Pp. 344-350.
27. P. 345.
28. Pp. 350, 353.
29. *Op. cit.*, p. 5.
30. " The Philippines Before Magellan ", *Asia Magazine*, October-November, 1921. Perhaps it is Steiger, Beyer, and Benitez., *Op. cit.*, Pp. 107-108 that Fray Santamaria was citing. The Early Pallava Colonies. There is some doubt as to just where in Malaysia the first Pallava settlements were made, but it is quite certain that between the first and the second centuries of the Christian Era, five important colonies had been established by the Pallavas in Indo-China......... "

The dating is only tentative. Evidences show that the Pallavas *did not* flourish at such an early date ; neither did they *have* nor *found* colonies in the South East Asian Locus. This is too much of an assumption, unproved by even the Pallava records themselves.

31. *Vide* B. Ch. Chhabra, " Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture During the Pallava Rule as Evidenced by Inscriptions ", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal-Letters*, I, 1935.

inscriptions from Kutei (East Borneo),[32] Champa[33], and West Java[34], which belong to the 5th century A. D. possess the script character traits of the Pallava Grantha. But there are no references in these inscriptions that the Pallavas founded the empire. Moreover, even the Pallava inscriptions in India do not mention such an empire[34-a]. The Colas, in their inscriptions[35], mention the Śrī Vijaya, but this reference is already far too late, and far later than the supposed founding of the empire by the Pallavas.

Point 3 : His discussion on the name *Visaya* in India[36]. He presents citations that the term *visaya* is found in India, and that it is Sanskrit. Then follows an enumeration of terms and place-names, e.g., *nagar, pur, Sindhudvīpa,* etc., which are irrelevant to the problem. Moreover, apart from this unnecessary enumeration, he presents a " phonetic development " of *visaya* from all the forms known in India , e.g., Bisnaga, Bezwada, etc.

Point 4 : On the " Visayas en las colonias Indias " (Visayas in the Indian colonies)[37]. Under this major point, there are a number of subsidiary points. But the present writer will discuss those which are relevant to the present question.

A. Apart from his reference that the Pallavas founded the Śrī Viṣaya (sic) empire, he cites Beyer (*et al, A History of the Orient*) that the Pallavas founded Indian colonies in Cambodia, in Southern Malaya, Central Java, Kutei (East Borneo), probably Kedah, and Champa (South Vietnam). Indeed the havoc done by Beyer, *et al,* in Philippine historiography appears to be irreparable ; and indeed, the later writers have accepted this without question.

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32. H. Kern, " Over de Sanskrit Opschriften van (Muara Kaman, in) Kutei (Borneo) ", *Verspreide Geschriften* VII, p. 55-76 ; and J. PH. Vogel, " The Yūpa Inscriptions of King Mūlavarman from Koetei (East Borneo) ", *BIJDRagen tot de Taal-Land—en Volkendunde,* LXXIV, Pp. 167-232.

33. Abel Bergaigne, "Inscriptions Sanscrites du Champā," *Notices et Extraits de MSS de la Bibliotheque Nationale* XXVII, Ire partie, let fassicule ; Louis Finot, " Notes Epigraphiques," BEFEO, II, 1902, p. 185, et. seq.

For the discussion ont he origi ns of the Champa-alphabets, *vide*: R. C. Majumdar, "La Paleographie des inscriptions du Champa ", BEFEO, XXXII, 1932, p. 127, *et seq.* ; " The Origin of the Alphabets of Champa", *Journal of Oriental Research*—Madras, XI, p. 51, *et, seq.* ; K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, " L'origine de L'Alphabet de Champa " BEFEO, XXXVI, 1936, " The Origin of the Alphabet of Champa," *Journal of Oriental Research*—Madras, XI, p. 175, *et seq.* ; G. Coedes, *Les Etats Hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, p. 59.

34. B. Ch. Chhabra, loc. cit. ;l Bijan Raj Chatterjee, *India and Java* (Greater India Society Bulletin No. 5), part II, Pp. 20-27.

34-a. Earliest Pallava inscriptions, dated late 4th and early 5th centuries A.D., are copper-plate grants. No reference to the founding of the Śrī Vijaya empire is read. *Vide* K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *A History of South India* (Madras, 1958), Pp. 97-101.

35. *Archaeological Survey of South India,* IV—" Sanskrit and Tamil Inscriptions, Notes, Texts and Translations", Pp. 204-224; and V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, ed., *Selected South Indian Inscriptions,* Pp. 75-76.

36. Pp. 350-353.

37. Pp. 353-360.

As we have mentioned in Point 2, the Pallavas *did not* found *any* colony, but their influence was felt in every phase of human life in these regions. Furthermore, that the Pallavas founded Śrī Vijaya in the 4th century A. D. is erroneous. We have no evidences on this historical event. The empire is known to have been founded in the early 6th century A. D. according to the Chinese records.

Moreover, it must be stated for all Philippine writers and scholars, that these regions are not colonies of India. It is clear that they were merely Hinduized as Coedès has cogently presented in his book, *Les Etats Hindouisés D' Indochine at D' Indonésie,* (" The Hinduized States of Indo-china and Indonesia.")[38]. Even R. C. Majumdar in his *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East,* I-*Champa*; *II-Suvarṇadvīpa*(2 parts)[39], did not take the position that India actually founded colonies in these regions.

B. References to the Chinese equivalents of the word Śrī Viṣaya (sic) are made : objections are offered to Hassel's identification of such equivalents (*vide* Problem I, Sugg 2, *infra*). These are obviously unnecessary, like his discussion of the Kingdom of Champā within whose realm is found a city named Vijaya. The most interesting point in regard to this reference is that the Cham city is known to have been founded in the middle of the 14th century or later.

Similarly, we have a reference to the Madjapahit Empire and further, a discourse on the Chinese forms of the word, which to the present writer are indeed unnecessary to the whole problem. The rest of his discussion under this subsidiary point show no relevance to his own problem.

Point 5 : " Colonias Visayas en Filipinas, Borneo, y Sumatra : [40] (Visayan Colonies in the Philippines, Borneo, and Sumatra). If we were to go back to the internal evidence of the extent of the Śrī Vijaya empire, which are confirmed by Chinese and Arabo-Persian records, it is extending the imagination too much to prove the point that the Philippines (including Borneo and Formosa) were dependents of the empire. It is easily understood that Fray Santamaria used the Map of Beyer, which the latter captioned " Prepared from Original Sources.[41] The present writer has not been able to examine Beyer's " original sources ", if they existed.

It is even interesting to note that Fray Santamaria, having used Hassel's monograph, apparently has not been illumined by the latter's conclusions regarding the extent of the empire's hegemony.

Fray Santamaria ends this sub-title with a reference to the Japanese records that mention people named *Ta gara* and *Saya,* which he supposes to be related to the Tagalogs and the Visayas (Bisaya). And this is a rather figurative inference, since " the Indian Visayas (according to Buzeta-Bravo)

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38. Histoire du Monde, serie, Tome VIII², Paris, 1948.
39. Lahore, 1927 ; Calcutta, 1937-38.
40. Pp. 360-363.
41. Vide *History of the Orient*, p. 113, and *Philippine Saga*, p. 17.

were brave, agile and heroic, bellicose, therefore *Visayas* is confirmed to mean " el victorioso[42]

This latter point is indeed a bellicose inference. It cannot be accepted in the light of the problem that is discussed below.

With the paper, Fray Santamaria includes a table which shows the " Varias formas de la palabra ' Visaya '[43]. This perhaps is included to give a tabular idea of what he was trying to prove - that Phillippine *visaya* is the Sanskrit *vijaya*. But this table does not prove anything and this assertion wil be supported by the present writer in the following major problems that are drawn from the article itself.

Problem I.—The Problem of Phonetic Development. Fray Santamaria jumps at the conclusion that Philippine *visaya* is derived from the Sanskrit *Vijaya* without discussing the phonetic development of the word from its original locus to its final destination in the Islands via the intervening languages. Indeed, it is well to take the caution that Carroll[44] makes against "the rhyming game." Carroll further seeks to point out that the word *visaya* (bisaya) may not be Sanskrit *vijaya* (after having undergone phonetic changes), but that it may have other origins than that which Fray Santamaria " cogently proves " through his rather very strange arguments. More suggestions are offered by Carroll[45], and these are dealt with in the following discussions to show that Fray Santamaria's *active* conclusions are not acceptable.

His table shows a graphic picture of the supposed philological development of the word Phil. *visaya* Sans. *vijaya*. Using every form of the word in the table we are certain that Phil. *visaya* is not Sans. *vijaya*. Under the Hindu (sic) forms, he shows *Bisnaga* (Toscano) and *Binsagar*. Indeed, these could not be the forms from which the Phil. *visaya* developed. These are British corruptions of the word *Vijayanagar*. We have further or later vestige of such corruptions in the contemporary town of *Bezwada* in South Eastern Andhra Pradesh (the Telugu country which is north of Madras State). This place-name is originally spelt *Vijayavada*[46]. He cites another word, *vaisadja* (Parker), which he believes to be Sanskrit. There is no such word as *vaisadja* in Sanskrit. It appears to be a Malay or Javanese form of Sans. *viṣaja*, " produced by poison", *vaiṣaja*, "end product of poison", with the '*i*' developing into its *vrddhi* form-*ai*. The Sans. '*J*' usually develops into *dy* or *dj* in Malay, Jav. and Phil. languages. There is a Sans. word *vaisadya* (*vi-sada*) which means " clearness, purity, brightness, etc. " which we may reject together with the words suggested by the friar.

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42. p. 363.
43. Between Pp. 362 and 363.
44. *Vide* Note 1 (*d*).
45. *Ibid.*, p. 504.
46. These are only a few of the corruptions made by the British, e.g., *Trivandrum*, the present capital of Kerala, was then the old *Tiruvanantapuram* ; *Trichinopoly*, a town in South Madras State, then *Tiruccirapalli*, etc.

Of the Malay forms, we cannot go to any further discussion on them than reject the forms *Śrī Viṣaya* and *Viṣaya* (Beyer, Zaide) for they cannot be proved in the inscriptions. Of the Phil. forms, we may also reject them because they are based mainly upon Beyer's conjecture that are unproved, although the forms are earlier referred to by Patern, de los Reyes, Morga-Rizal, Morga-Retana, Colin, Pastells, etc.[47]

Perhaps, it would not be superfluous to present here the phonetic development of Sans. *vijaya* in Malay, Jav. and Phil. languages, particularly the changes of the phoneme *j* because it is certain that it is the fundamental point around which the *vijaya*>*visaya* development revolves.

In the Old Malayo-Sanskrit inscriptions that usher the empire into the full light of history, the word is undoubtedly *Śrī Vijaya* and no other form or forms. In the Ligor inscription of A. D. 775 which is in Sanskrit, we have on face *B* : L. 14 - *Śrīvijayendrarāja* "Lord of Śrī Vijaya" L. 16-17 -*Śrīvijayeśvarabhūpatireṣa*, "This king, the Lord of Śrī Vijaya[48]. In the Sanskrit manuscripts on miniature Buddhist paintings of Buddhist shrines in Further India from Nepal, dated the 11th cetury A. D., we have Śrī Vijayapura (*Svvarṇapure Śrīvijayapure*, " At Śrī Vijaya in Survarṇapura").[49]

In the Tamil inscriptions of the Colas[50], we have *Śrī Viṣaiya* which is rendered in translation as *vijaya*, which shows that *visaiya* is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *vijaya*. It is doubtful that the Tamil form may have influenced the forms that Beyer, followed by Zaide, Alip and Fray Santamaria believe to be the Sanskrit *vijaya*. We have Tamil inscriptions in Takuapa[51], on the Isthmus of Kra, North of Malaya, and in Sumatra[52], but we do not find any reference to Śrī Vijaya (in the Tamil form or in whatever form).

We will now show Fray Santamaria (Beyer, Alip and Zaide) that Sans. |J| in its development in the Western branch of the Malayo-Polynesian languages never showed a|s| (or *Sh* Beye) form. We may take the Sans. words possessing '*j*' that were borrowed by the Phillippine languages[53] : Sans *gaja* "elephant" Mal. *gajah*, Jav. (*gaja* which retain the *j* in its palatal quality)> Tag. and Bis. *gadya*, Ilk. *gadia* (which now show the |dy| and |di| sounds). Sulu *jaga*, "awake, to guard" retains the quality of the phoneme like Mal. *jaga*, "awake, alert" and Jav. *jaga*, *jagi*>Sans. *Jāgṛ*, " to keep awake, to watch", but Tag. *daga* (Tavera), "sentinel". Sans. *jāla*, "net" Tag. and Pamp.

47. *Vide* his table.

48. *Chhabra, op. cit.*, Pp. 20-27.

49. Ferrand, in *Journal Asiatique*, XX, July-September, 1922, Pp. 42-43.

50. The Leiden Copper Plate Grant. *Vide Archaeological Survey of South India*, IV, Pp. 204-224 ; and V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *loc. cit.*

51. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, " The Takuapa Tamil Inscription ", *Journal of Oriental Research*—Madras, VI, 1932 ; " Takuapa and its Tamil Inscriptions. *JRAS-MB.*, XXII, 1949.

52. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, "A Tamil Merchant Guild in Sumatra", *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde*, LXXII, 1932.

53. *Vide* my *Dissertation*, Pp. 210-11.

dála "cast net", beside Mal. *jala*. Sans. *jīva*, "living, existing, alive" > Tag., Bis., Bik., and So. Mang. *diwa*, "thought, spirit, life" beside Mal. *jiwa*. We may see in the illustrations that Sans, | j | > Phil. |d| when initial ; and |dy| and |di| when medial. But Malay. retains the |j|.

There are other developments, like Sans. |j| > Phil. |g|, |r|, Jav. |dj| and it being assimilated by the preceding phoneme or lost in the borrowing languages, but it is believed that the above paradigms will amply illustrate to Fray Santamaria that his theory is unacceptable.

But we have two suggestions which may prove that Phil. *visaya* may have a Sans. origin. One of these, however, does not derive from the word *vijaya*, "victory". *First Suggestion* : Perhaps Phil. *bisaya* or *visaya* may yet derive from Sans. *viṣaya* "sphere, dominion, territory, country, kingdom."[54] If either of the island empires (Śrī Vijaya or Majapahit) had any overlordship in the Phillppines during their time, the islands could then be a viṣaya of these empires. We may assume that *visaya* is a remnant of the name of a territory that was subordinate to either of these empires. A reconstruction of this place may be attempted. Assuming that ancient Philippine was then known to either of these empires in the Chinese designation *Ma-i* or *Mai-yi* plus the word *viṣaya*. Thus, we could have the Philippines named *Mayi viṣaya*, "the Ma-yi territory (of Śrī Vijaya or Majapahit)," if Sans. terminologies in place names were used by these empires. In the course of time, *Ma-yi* or *Ma-i* dropped out of use, and we have only *viṣaya* which is now the name of one of the geographical divisions of the Philippine Islands.

This assumption, however, is negatived bp the absence of the Philippines in the list of dependencies—internal, Chinese, Sanskrit— of either Śrī Vijaya or Majapahit over which they exercised power.

Corrolary to this suggestion is another by Carroll[55] in which *visaya* may be Sans. *vaiśya*, the third caste in the Hindu society (which compose the agriculturists and other occupational groups). But he cautioned against the tendency to indulge in the "rhyming game."

Second Suggestion : This suggestion if examined closely may "strengthen" the position of Fray Santamaria. In his table, he lists the various forms of *Vijaya* in Chinese, v.g., *pi-she-yeh, p'i-she-ye, pisaye, piisaye, pisoye, pixoye, che-li-fo-che, san-fo-t'se, shih-li-fo-shih-yu, fo-shih-ye*—citing a variety of authorities.

It is assumed from his discourse, that all these forms are Chinese representatives of Sans. *Śrī Vijaya* and *vijaya*. Indeed, it is difficult to check up the phonetic develpment of Sanskrit words that are found in the Chinese records Unfortunately, Stanislas Julien's monumental work "Mèthode pour dechiffrer et transcrire les noms Sanscrites que se reconstrent dans les livres Chinois" (Paris, 1861) is not available for our present review.

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54. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37 ; 158-160. Carroll, *ibid.*, p. 504, suggested Sanskrit *viṣaya*, "Province, country," but did not pursue further the suggestion, which is now discussed extensively in the present paper.

55. *loc. cit.*

However, basing our arguments on the assumption, it may not be hazardous to suggest that Phil. *visaya* (bisaya) is a Sans. loan-word borrowed via the intervention of the Chinese forms. It is an interesting question, though, that if the Phil. *bisaya* (visaya), being a place-name, is "borrowed" from Sans. via the Chinese forms, we are not aware of any Chinese record of contemporary period that refers to the Philippines in that name.[55a] Moreover, we are not in possession of evidence internal to the Philippine Archipelago that will confirm our assumption.

Problem II. The problem of the utilization of original and reputable secondary sources on the discussion of the word. We have had occasion to refer earlier to the inscriptions in regard to the phonetic development of the word. But our reference to the inscriptions here is to show the author the fundamental importance of the original materials; failing which, however, the reputable secondary materials would give him solid ground to pursue his postulate. Certainly, if we examined Santamaria's foot-notes and citations, we conclude immediately that he *does not know* the inscriptions, and the more reputable authors like, Coedès, Ferrand, Nilakantha Sastri, Chhabra, Kern, Stutterheim, Bosch,-to name a few of the scholars who devoted their lifetime in the study of the history of South-East Asia (part of which is the Śrī Vijaya period of this history). Indeed, these scholars always commenced with the inscriptions in their discussions of the history of the entire region (or the empire).

It may not be superfluous to repeat here that Fray Santamaria included many unneccessary elements which do not have any direct connection with the subject, and which weakened his position. It is not necessary to point out the irrelevant elements. Perhaps, an invitation to read the paper under review will suffice to show this point.

As a further critique of Fray Santamaria's view, the present writer wishes to examine the reference to the word *Bisaya* (visaya) in the "early" records of Philippine history. Carroll[56] makes a very interesting reference to the paucity of references to the word in the *Maragtas*. He in fact cogently points out that the name *bisaya* (visaya) in the *Maragtas* is a very late interpolation,

55-a. *Vide* Wu Ching-hong, " A Study of the References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources from the Earliest times to the Ming Dynasty, " PSSHR, XXIV, January-June, 1959, pp. 1-181.

Despite the seemingly convincing citations (pp. 97-98) from Terrien de Lacouperie (*China Before the Chinese*, p. 127) and Berthold Laufer (*Relations of the Chinese in the Philippines*, pp. 253-255) on the " identification " of Pi-sho-ye as Bisaya (Visaya), Wu fails to arrive at a definite conclusion and cautiously writes (p. 99) : " About Pi-sho-ye, the author prefers to await for more evidences." (*Vide* p. 100, for more discussions on points of view relavant to the term).

It is rather interesting that Wu, in his conclusions, does not seem to give much importance to the identification of the Chinese term with the Phil. *Visaya*, as he obviously omits reference to it. This, to the present writer shows that there are no positive proofs to the identification.

Furthermore, this shows that Fray Santamaria's conclusion may be taken with reservation, if not outrightly rejected.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 505-512.

that this interpolation may have occurred in the 20th century,[57] which lends support to the inference that the word, in its meaning "victory, victorious" according to Fray Santamaria, is not even known in pre-Spanish times. Carroll even goes back to examine the origins of the Bisayas in Borneo, and he fails to connect these tribes to any vestige of the Śrī Vijaya empire. This is rightly so, for there are no evidences establishing this connection.

Another inference that we may draw from Carroll's conclusion is that while there are "no Muslim names, no Muslim titles other than Sultan (which is a late interpolation), no Muslim concepts appear in any of these three *Maragtas*[58] version ; (and) none of the migrating datus has an Arabicized name." It is also reasonable enough "that the *Maragtas*-migration has a pre-Muslim, ... or more accurately, a non-Muslim date", the word *bisaya* (visaya) may not even have a pre-Spanish date. Indeed, there are a number of interpolations in this document other than *Bisaya* (visaya) that will cast reasonable doubt upon Fray Santamaria's theory.

There are other points in Carroll's paper[59] that do not necessarily bear direct connection with our review, but would perhaps supplement the arguments advanced against Fray Santamaria's view.

In the *tarsila* or *salsilah* (genealogies) of Mindanao, the word *Bisaya* is mentioned, but it means "slave" according to his (Carroll's) interpretation in direct contrast to that by N.M. Salleby[60] who misread the Tao-Sug word *bisaya* to mean "*bisayan*" rather than "slave" ; thus perhaps the translation should be that the Sulus received from Manila "four captive (or captured) slaves."[61]

In the Sulu Luntar (Annals),[62] we read "Five years after Rāja Baginda's arrival at Sulu the Rāja of Java sent a messenger to Sulu with a present of elephants. The messenger's name was Jaya...." The word *Jaya,* perhaps, is the only earliest record that shows that the word (*Vi*) *jaya* did not develop to (*vi or bi*) *saya,* but that it retained its original sound. The *bisaya*-word mentioned in the *Salsilah* (*tarsila* cited above does not mean "victorious" as Fray Santamaria had tried to prove (*vide* the discussion on Phonetic development of San. J. *supra*).

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57. *Vide*, p. 506 ; " This one mention of ' Bisayan Speech ' from the context refers to a period later then the *Maragtas*-migration, probably 19th century."

58. Enriqueta Fox, *Bisayan Accounts of Early Bornean Settlements in the Philippines by Father Santaren,* Phillippine Studies Program, University of Chicago, 1954. (Fn. 42, in Carroll).

" Bisayan Accounts of Early Bornean Settlements in the Philippines ", *Sarawak Museum Journal,* VII, 7, June, 1956 (Introductory Note by Dr. Fred Eggan ; Note on the texts by E. D. Hester ; Texts by Father Santaren). (Fn. 43 in Carrol.).

Manue L. Carreon, " Maragtas : The Datus from Borneo (The Earliest known Bisayan Texts)", *Sarawak Museum Journal,* VIII, 10, December, 1957.

59. Pp. 513-517.

60. *The History of Sulu* (Bureau of Printing, Manila, 1908), p. 159, Fn. 56, in Carroll).

61. Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 515.

62. Cited in *Ibid.*, p. 518,

Convincingly, Carroll[63] writes: "this reference to Jaya, though it has other historical implications, apparently is *not directly linked to the name Bisaya beyond some evidence that Hinduized influence reached the Philippines.*" (Italics supplied). We need not elaborate on this for it is very clear and precise.

The word *Bisaya*, as found in the early American and European accounts, is also discussed by Carroll.[64] The profusion of references to the word as a geographical name in these accounts can already be explained in terms of the popularity it enjoyed from the works of the early or even late Spanish chroniclers. But we read a very interesting citation from Captain Thomas Forest's account of his voyage in 1774-1776.[65] In this account, he wrote of a "Rajah, who spoke good Malay", whom he enquired "the destination of his privateer", who answered, "*dio pigy mangaio, de nigri Bisaya,* (he is going to cruise amongst 'the Philippines' ", "This 18th centruy Malay is perhaps re-translatable to " it is going cruising (raiding) in the country of slaves", comments Carroll. But in Modern Malay, *de Negeri Bisaya* means "country named Bisaya ". Carroll further comments : " Bisaya was not an 18th centruy penisular Malay word meaning 'slave' although it is a word for 'slave' in some Philippine languages......".

Perhaps, Carroll's comment may be explained that although the word *Bisaya* meant "slave" in the Philippine languages in earlier times the word acquired a new meaning in other languages, like Malay, in later times. This is so, because, we may assume, in the course of time, *Bisaya*, "slave", came to be identified with the region where slaves were captured. Therefore, this region came to be named *Bisaya* after this development in meaning. This is not the only case where a geographical name had an early connection with some other name or word of a different connotation or meaning. It may not be superfluous to state, furthermore, that some of the very strange Philippine place-names may be explained in a similar manner as our assumption on the *bisaya*, " slave " > *bisaya*, " a geographical division of the Phillippine Islands" where slaves were formerly found and captured.

On the basis of the foregoing discussions, we may conclude thus :

(1) Perhaps, for the last time, it may be reiterated that the view of Beyer (followed by Alip, Malcolm, Zaide, etc.) on the Śrī Vijaya-Phillippine politico-colonial relations may be rejected, as Hassel and the present writer had already dismissed. Similarly, Fray Santamaria's assumptions of Śrī Vijaya being *in* the Phillippines may be dismissed on similar grounds. The conclusions of Hassel, as independently arrived at by the present writer may be accepted pending further research on the subject.

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63. *Ibid*, p. 514.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 519-529.

65. *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas, from Balambangan ; Including an Account of Magindanao, Sooloo, and other Islands :....Performed in the Tartar Galley Belonging to the Honourable East Indian Company, During the Years* 1774, 1775, 1776 ...... (London 1779). (Fn. 119, in Carroll).

(2) The conclusions arrived at by Fray Santamaria concerning the view that Phil. *Visaya*>Sans. *vijaya* may also be dismissed.

(3) As supplement to our conclusions regarding Fray Santamaria's views, Carroll's conclusions[66] may be cited. It may not be superfluous to point out here that this may be tentatively accepted pending discovery of more convicing and precise evidence to the contrary. Citing these may help to unravel the problems he had presented in his paper. Moreover, these conclusions will supplement Fray Santamaria's conclusions being negatived by his own evidence.

" 1. The linguistic evidence provides no really helpful clue to the origin of the name Bisaya. Various explanations are possible, all based on similarity of sounds. The derivation of Bisaya from an Empire of Śrī Vijaya is unlikely (*vide* Problem I, *supra*). The most plausible explanation is that the etymology of the name Bisaya is in the root words meaning " slave "[69], or in the *aya* root meaning " person. "

" 2. The available pre-Magellan Panay sources are remarkable because they have so few references to Bisaya, and these few are apparently all interpolations. But if these allusions are not later insertions, then the name Bisaya was extant in Borneo and Panay in c. 1300-1400 A.D.

" 3. The available Pre-Magellan sources say nothing about Bisaya.

" 4. If the one citation in the available pre-Magellan Sulu sources is correctly translated and if it is not an interpolation, then the name Bisaya was known in Sulu before the advent of Islam—perhaps c. 1350-1400 A.D. Whether the translation is accurate is uncertain, and the early 20th century date of the ms. allows ample opportunity for interpolation. However, the integrity of the narrator, Tuan Haji Batu Banoahala of Sulu, is beyond question.

" 5. The Magellan sources themselves say nothing about Bisaya.

" 6. The Post-Magellan and pre-Legaspi Spanish sources, early 16th century, mention a port and a people called Bizaya on the eastern coast of Mindanao. The Legaspi sources themselves say nothing about Bisaya until after Legaspi had left the island of Cebu and settled in the island of Panay. This absence of the name Bisaya in the Spanish records until the Spaniards had settled in the islands of Panay suggests that in the mid-16th century the name Bisaya in the Philippines applied to the peoples and languages of Cebu, Negros, Bohol, Leyte and Samar. This fact (if it is a fact) lends some credence to the theory that the *Maragtas* migrants to Panay might have called themselves or have been called Bisaya, notwithstanding the paucity and inconclusiveness of allusions to Bisaya in the *Maragtas* accounts.

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66. *Ibid.*, pp. 529-531.

67. Carroll writes in his footnote (No. 120) to this reference : " I realize, of course, that it could be the other way around : that the word *bisaya* could have come to mean " slave " *because the slaves captured were Bisayans.*

"7. Legend states that the first sultan of Brunei was a Borneo Bisaya. If so, the Borneo Bisayas were living in the vicinity of Brunei Bay in the 15th and possibly in the 14th centuries.

"8. Spanish, Italian sources reveal that Borneo Bisayas were living in Sarawak near the Sarawak river and immediately north of Brunei Bay in the mid-16th century.

"9. Possibly the Hiligaynon, Hamtikanon, and Aklanon of Panay are all descendants of the *Maragtas* migrants, the differences in their languages being due to linguistic metamorphoses in course of time; but the greater likelihood is that the people descended most directly from the *Maragtas* datus are among the minor cultural-linguistic groups in the interior of Panay ; Sulod, Putian, Kinirary-a, Hiniray-a and so forth. More precisely, the name Bisaya in the Bisayan Islands seems to have initially meant only the Hiligaynon whereas the *Maragtas* migrants seem to have been the Haraya, Hiniray-a and Kinirap-a. No known evidence links the *Maragtas* migrants to either the Borneo Bisaya or any other specific Borneo cultural-linguistic groups. Nevertheless, the *Maragtas* migrants obviously came from Borneo and the name Bisaya in the Philippines presumably has a Borneo origin".[68]

The foregoing conclusions seem clear and precise. But after a careful perusal of the evidences presented above, the stand of the present writer on the issues raised by the four writers may now be summed up and clearly re-defined.

On the "Śrī Vijaya Period" of Philippine history, the present writer is entirely not in agreement with Beyer, not withstanding the promised publication of his researches in this field as it was announced by Hassel in her monograph. Despite the very extensive researches made by the present writer, independently conducted from that by Hassel which was equally extensive, there is no reason to accept the views of Beyer even with reservation. Indeed, the evidences on hand are convincing enough to give definiteness in doubting the inferences by Beyer of the "Śrī Vijaya Period" in Philippine history.

On the view that Phil. *Bisaya* (Visaya) is Sans. *Bijaya* [*visaya* (sic) Santamaria], the present writer's stand is diametrically opposed to this. Despite the seemingly exhaustive "evidences" presented bp Fray Santamaria, they are unconvincing. Moreover, despite the suggestions presented to "strengthen" Santamaria's position, it is still difficult to accept his view because the internal evidences in the Śrī Vijaya empire show that the Philippines was conspicuous by her absence in these records, as corroborated by evidences external to these. The extreme importane that Fray Santamaria attached to this view as an evidence of a 'Śrī Vijaya-Philippine political relations is indeed going far beyond the actual evidences that are available. The present

68. Much doubt has been cast on the authenticity of the *Maragtas* as an historical document. Rather it is considered by workers in the field that it may well be a tradition belonging to the realm of folk history. *Vide* F. Landa Jocano, " The Maragtas as a Historical Document", *Sunday Times Magazine* (Manila), Vol. XVII, No. 41, May 20, 1962, pp. 6-8.

writer, after presenting the facts on hand, wishes to dismiss here Fray Santamaria's view.

Carroll's views had been accepted by the present writer with reservation, pending discovery of more evidences confirming or contradicting his conclusions. Perhaps, even a re-study of the evidences used by Carroll may turn out more solid inferences that will either confirm or reject his views.

ABBREVIATIONS

BEFEO	Bulletin de l' ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient
JRAS-MB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch
PSSHR	Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review
TAVERA	El Sancrito en la Lengua Tagalog
Bik.	Bikol
Bis. (Kern)	Bisaya (Based on H. Kern, " Sanskritsche Woorden in Het Bisaya ", *Verspreide Geschriften*, X.
Ilk.	Iloko
Jav.	Javanese
Mal.	Malay
Pamp.	Pampanga
Phil.	Philippine
Sans.	Sanskrit
So. Mang.	South Mangyan

PROGRESS OR THE KALI-YUGA?

WILLIAM STODDART, *Glasgow*

Everywhere in the world to-day men's aspirations are directed towards what is known as " progress ". Though insuperable international dissensions and cruel regional wars have sown anxiety in the heart of man, they have not come near to shaking his belief that " man is progressing " and that " man must progress ". That this should be so, in spite of world cataclysms, is not entirely surprising. Progress is looked on by most as being a matter of liberating the oppressed, feeding the hungry, healing the sick—and it is not strange that men should believe that anyone who could possibly oppose such endeavours must necessarily be a knave. Progress, however, is far from simply being age-old charity in modern dress ; and while ideologists unremittingly expound the gospel of progress in all its myriad forms, many " simple " people know in their hearts that something has gone wrong.

But what is it that has gone wrong ? If a man has a fever, who would deny him penecillin ? If a man has a tumour, who would deny him surgery ? But these questions by no means exhaust all aspects of the matter. There are not only antibiotics and anaesthetics : there are also nuclear weapons and totalitarian oppressions. All are the products of modern science, and all are the results of progress. Not even the most skilled ideologist can separate the " good " effects from the " bad " and convince us that the former alone are progress, whereas the latter are not. The advances of scientific progress are " advances " which simply do not take man's comforts and desires into account. Medicine and bombs, education and totalitarianism, are indissociable ; the " good " and the " bad " aspects are thrown up together, willy-nilly. It is intellectual dishonesty to allege that man has it in his power to choose only the " good " effects and to reject the " bad ", and it is self-deception to believe, against all probability, that the " good " effects will some day, somehow, outnumber the " bad ".

What is it then that has gone wrong ? A hint is provided by the fact that progress, everywhere and always, is exclusively *material* progress. Contemporary reality is there to prove that " moral progress " is a cruel joke. In spite of organized schemes for collective social betterment, never has there been less virtue, less self-abnegation, less sanctity than to-day. It is true that there are still saints, even if not so many as of old but the difference is that to-day neither the eyes of government nor of the masses are directed towards them. It is " clever " economists and " enlightened " reformers who now enjoy the limelight, and their virtue, alas, far from being transcendent, only too often falls below that wretched mediocrity which is the " virtue " of average men.

The gospel of " progress " rests on the belief that by means of natural sciences, intrinsically divorced from supernatural realities and revealed religion, man can improve the lot of his fellows. One might have hoped that more

would see that this is a recipe which can only produce ever more numerous problems and drive human society deeper and deeper into turmoil. The worse our condition becomes, the more " science " is applied. The more " science" is applied, the worse our condition becomes. As the vicious circle turns, delinquency and discontent grow apace.

These words are not written in the belief that one day the majority of men will see the error of their " scientific " ways and, on taking thought, will set things right. Hindus understand why this cannot be so, for they know we are living in the " Dark Age " (the *kali-yuga*), and that the downward or " tāmasic " trend which we see everywhere around us and which stems from our blindness to supernatural reality, will continue inexorably till the cycle itself comes to its cataclysmic end.

The clock cannot be turned back, and the world will rush on to its fearful doom. But whoever is capable of understanding the falseness of the progressivistic current around him, thereby liberates himself inwardly from the thraldom of a mortal error, even though outwardly he may not, any more than his fellows, escape its physcial effects.

The Scriptures of all religions contain prophecies about the days when men will turn away from divine revelation and put their faith instead in the shallow and shifting notions invented by men. The Christian Gospel says : " It is impossible but that scandal will come "; and, lest anyone should regard the " scandal " with complacency, or even lend it his co-operation, it immediately adds : " but woe unto him through whom scandal comes ". Those who are the agents of "progress" will not be held guiltless. In Islam a counterblast to the doctrine of progress is to be found in the saying of the prophet Mohammed: " No time cometh upon you but is followed by a worse. " It is the opposite that is taught by the ideologists of progress ! The Buddhist Scriptures and also, most interestingly, the traditions and prophecies of the Red Indians of North America, likewise foresee man's collective falling away from religion, his ever increasing materialism in the latter days, and the fearful doom which lies ahead. But perhaps the most explicit intimation of the *kali-yuga* is to be found in the Scriptures of Hindusim. A well-known passage from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* codified in the earlier part of the Christian era, reads like a description of the world around us and strikingly reveal the emptiness and hypocrisy of those who in the midst of increasing distress still talk about progress : for those with " eyes to see and ears to hear " this passage is a recall from illusion to reality and from falsehood to truth :

"Riches and piety will diminish daily, until the world will be completely corrupted. In those days it will be wealth which confers distinction, passion will be the sole reason for union between the sexes, and lies will be the only method for success in business. The earth will be valued only on account of the mineral treasures which it contains, disloyalty will be the means universally employed for continuing to exist, a simple ablution will be regarded as sufficient purification......................

"The observance of castes, laws and institutions will no longer be in force in the Dark Age, and the ceremonies prescribed by the *Vedas* will be neglected. Women will obey only their whims and will be infatuated with pleasure...... Men of all kinds will presumptuously regard themselves as the equals of *brâhmaṇas*......The *vaiśyas* will abandon agriculture and commerce and will earn their living by servitude or by the exercise of mechanical professions...... The path of the *Vedas* having been abandoned, and man having been led astray from orthodoxy, iniquity will prevail and the length of human life will diminish in consequence...... Then men will cease worshipping Viṣṇu, the Lord of sacrifice, Creator and Lord of all things, and they will say : " Of what authority are the *Vedas ?* Who are the Gods and the *brâhmaṇas ?* What use is purification with water ? ...." The dominant caste will be that of *śûdras*...... Men, deprived of reason and subject to every infirmity of body and mind, will daily commit sins : everything which is impure, vicious, and calculated to afflict the human race will make its appearance in the Dark Age."

THE SANDALS OF PRINCE RAMA

HARRY M. BUCK, *Chambersburg, Pa.*

Throughout India countless devotees have looked upon Sri Rama as their embodiment of *dharma* and worshipped at his lotus-feet in order to bring their lives into harmony with it. Thus the *Ramayana* has become both a paradigm and an anamnesis as men have sought on the one hand to follow its examples and on the other hand to re-enact its drama. Like saving stories elsewhere in the history of the world's religions, the *Ramayana* is neither mere history nor simple entertainment. It is a living tradition, appreciated by reflexive beings who reflect on the world in which they live. Although an average worshipper at a temple or a shrine may be no more aware of the nuances of theology than a native speaker of a language cares about its grammar and syntax, careful observers can see cultic practices and devotional acts expressing relationships between man and the world in which he tried to live. Whatever else it does, religion helps man to discover meaning in his existence and to live in harmony with an unseen order. The salvation-bearing story can provide a model for cultic repetition as well as an example of righteous living.

"Where in this world," asked Sage Valmiki, "is to be found a man endowed with the noblest qualities, valorous and virtuous, truthful and steadfast in vows, upright of character and benevolent to all beings, knowing, capable and always uniformly pleasing in appearance, self-possessed, one who has conquered anger and is free from intolerance?" To fill this staggering prescription Nārada pointed out the life of Lord Sri Rama, "noble, dear to the whole world and one who behaved equally towards all and one whose sense of duty helped to protect those near him and thereby the world and *Dharma* itself."[1] It occasions no surprise that the devout worship at the feet of such a one, and indeed the *Ramayana* itself provides a model for such devotion in Bharata's veneration of the *Pādukā* ("sandals") of Rama, described in one prayer as "our sole refuge."[2]

Prince Rāma and Pādukārājya

Statesmen and religious leaders alike have praised the ideal of the *Ramayana* and Gandhiji often spoke of it. But throughout most of the epic-story, *Rāmarājya* is an eschatological vision, to appear in a new age when evil has been conquered and the Kingdom of God fulfils the vision of a primordial perfect order, Dasaratha's kingdom before the banishment of Rama. Valkmiki's epic depicts harmonious kingdoms only at the beginning and end of the story, its

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1. The English rendering of Dr. V. Raghavan in *The Indian Heritage : An Anthology of Sanskrit Literature* (The Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore, 1956), p. 150. As in that volume I shall anglicize all Sanskrit terms except where the context demands a more precise transcription.

2. See *Select Shrines of Sri Rama,* The Little Flower Co., Madras, 1964, p. 111.

central portion describing a period when Prince Rama was absent from his throne.

In Dasaratha's kingdom,

"his citizens were gay but righteous, learned, contented each with his possessions, and truthful ; there was none among them who was lewd, miserly, cruel or unbelieving; endowed with character and conduct, everybody was as pure as a sage...... There was, neither in the metropolis nor in the countryside, any liar or evil character intent on another's wife."[3]

And the epic concludes with a picture of a cosmic salvation, in which man and nature are created in a new and righteous (*dhārmic*) kingdom, ruled over by a prince[4] who has conquered evil.

"Rama reigned long, performing many sacrifices, attended by lavish gifts. With long arms and high shoulders, Rama, along with Lakshmana, protected the world...... While Rama ruled, no widowed woman wailed ; there was no fear of disease ; the world was free from thieves ; calamity touched none ; elders did not perform the obsequies of the younger ones ; everything was happy; everyone was righteously inclined, and with their thoughts on Rama, people refrained from mutual injury ; free from ailments or sorrow, they lived long.... The world became one Rama ; trees grew luxuriantly and put forth their flowers and fruits in season and out of season ; there were timely rains ; contented, each with its duties, all classes were free from avarice.'[5]

Throughout the main portion of the *Ramayana*, however, *Rāmarājya* is an ideal. Rama may reign in the hearts of men and women, but where is the kingdom where he reigns in actuality ? We live neither in Dasaratha's kingdom of original purity nor in Rama's reign of absolute justice but in a world where evils more frightening than Ravana and all his Rakshasas must be fought. Life went on in Ayodhya even while our hero was in the forest or in far off Lanka. The wise ruler can scarcely claim to be the agent of *Rāmarājya* but rather take Bharata as his model ; *Pādukārājya* is the more attainable goal.

In parabolic form Valmiki has said that even in his absence, Rama provided a standard for the kingdom and grace to those who would submit to the tokens he had left. We need not recount the story to Indian readers, except to call attention to Bharata's elaborate expedition into the forest to persuade Rama to return to the throne of Ayodhyā. "Till I find Rama, Lakshmana and Sītā," he said, " I will have no peace ; *till I take Rama's feet on my head, I will have no peace*."[6] Of course Rama refused all offers made to him, when

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3. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

4. The saviour form is uniformly that of the son or the prince. *Cf.* G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, Allen and Unwin, (London : 1938) Chap. 12.

5. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 28 1f. I have not included the *Uttara Kanda* as part of the "story" of the *Ramayana*.

6. *Ibid*, p. 188, itals, mine.

"suddenly as if by magic Bharata produces a pair of sandals ornamented with gold. Apparently they were part of the things that they had brought and thought of using if Rāma could be persuaded to have the ceremony of abhisheka. They were there. So he took them and Vasishtha prompted him to take the sandals. The sandals were taken. Then Bharata says: 'Here are the sandals, brother. Do me this favour. Once stand on these sandals and then get down'. People say that as he stood on the sandals, his greatness by some mystic process was transferred to the sandals, and Bharata carried the sandals home, installed them and regarded them as he would regard his elder brother ; from those sandals he would get the necessary moral authority, the inspiration from time to time to behave as a true king.

He did the anointing ceremony to the sandals......whenever something had to be done, when a valuable present or tribute was brought...... having first dedicated it to the sandals, announced everything to the sandals he did the proper things subsequently."[7]

When the sandals had once been used by Rama, "Bharata took them reverently and put them on his head."[8] The sandals occupied the throne, and Bharata ruled, so Valmiki claims, deriving his powers and insights from them. When after fourteen years of exile, the elder brother returned, Bharata immediately requested him to put the sandals on his feet again. *Pādukārājya* had ended ; *Rāmarājya* was about to begin.

A Phenomenological View

Undoubtedly this episode entertains many who see it in dance drama or motion picture, and children enjoy hearing it from their grandmothers, but Valmiki did not write it for amusement. He was dealing with fundamental human problems. No one ever looks at the world simply as an object ; he encounters it in a frame of reference and whenever a person tells a serious story he reveals as much about his vantage point as he does about the world he is describing. To study Scripture in this fashion we must quickly pass over many troublesome matters of textual analysis to discover value structures by which men try to live in harmony with Ultimate Reality and ways in which sacred books reinforce these ideals or, in some cases, clash with them. What then does the *Ramayana* have to say about man and his relation to *dharma* by means of the parable of Rama's sandals ?

There is a form of bhakti associated with the sandals of Lord Rama, and we shall turn our attention to it presently. For the moment we must view some other representations of similar phenomena throughout the world. The root पाद्, strong base of पद्, is used in the form पाद throughout much of Sanskrit literature, particularly poetry, to indicate not simply "foot" as a part of the body, but majesty, as in *deva-pādāh*, or as the part of the body to which reverence is shown. The same figure of speech can be seen in Greek as

7. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri tells the story in his *Lectures on the Ramayana*, Madras Sanskrit Academy, (Madras: Rev. Ed., 1961) pp. 141-142.

8. *Ibid.* p. 141.

in Sanskrit where to fall at someone's feet is to honor him, and to sit at his feet is to learn from him. Paul, for example, claimed to have sat " at the feet of Gamaliel " (Acts 22:3), and Martha sat at the feet of Jesus and listened to his teaching (Luke 10:39). पादुका then means not simply a sandal but the " impression of the feet of a god or a holy person."[9] and it is frequently used this way in Buddhist literature, where the veneration of the footprints of the Buddha is a well-known phenomenon. One of Thailand's loveliest temples is Prabutabhat Suraburee—sacred to Buddha's foot-print.

Although Sir James Frazer thinks only in terms of magic, and magic intended to work harm on others at that, his examples are nonetheless instructive. Using the questionable term " contagious magic " to describe his phenomena, he sees a " magical sympathy " between a man and any severed portion of his person.[10] He notes the same phenomenon with reference to items of clothing and a widespread belief that " by injuring foot-prints you injure the feet that made them."[11] Sir James's illustrations are useful only because they show the widespread attention paid to feet and foot-prints throughout the world. They illustrate our phenomenon in reverse, however, because the footprints of Rama carried on his *Pādukā* bring blessing to the kingdom ruled over by his brother.

The episode of the sandals marks the point where the *dharma* of Rama and the *dharma* of Bharata clearly diverge. Rama turned deeper into the forest and encountered the *Rakshasas*, and Bharata went back to govern the realm. Rama had been presented with various alternatives, any one of which could have been construed as dharmic, but among the conflicting courses of action presented to him, he had to choose that way that he thought most in accord with his deepest commitments. *Dharma* is no universal proposition but an individua responsibility laid differently on each one of us. "Better to do one's own duty poorly than another's well " declares the *Bhagavad Gita* (3:35), but Rama went on to do his own duty and to do it well, and so did Bharata.

Variations on the Theme

Rama's story has played a prominent role in the literature, sculpture, music, and dance of all of South-east Asia as well as in India. Throughout India the story appears in Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Maithili, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, and Telugu. The Hindi version of Tulasi Das and the Tamil version of Kambar are, however, its most noteworthy renderings. Nilmadhav Sen has said :

> "Works which have affected so large a population over so long a period of time and moulded the character of civilization of so vast a region, often transcending geographical limits, can ill afford to be termed mere " epics". Indeed the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* should better be regarded

9. Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, (Oxford. 1899), p. 618

10. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (The Golden Bough), Part I, Vol. I, The Macmillan Co., N. Y., 3rd Ed., 1935, p. 175.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 207.

as the *true history of India*, history not of events, but of the urges and aspirations, strivings and purposes of the nation. Encyclopaedic in nature, they form 'the content of our collective unconscious' wherein breathe 'the united soul of India and the individual souls of her people'.[12]

The Tamil Version of Kambar

Bharata was accompanied on his expedition by all three queens, including Kaikeyi, who were introduced to Guha. Bharata had to convince Guha that his intentions were honorable.

> My father who had ruled the worlds without
> A single flaw has set at nought for once
> The traditions of our ancient line : I come
> To call our Rama home and set them right. (II xi 35)[13]

But Rama could no more be dissuaded here than in Valmiki's version. Bharata, in a delicately portrayed scene, requested the very sandals Rama was wearing, not those he had brought with him. Placing the sandals on his head, he then wore them like a crown, but he would not enter Ayodhyā, stopping rather at Nandigram. The sandals occupied the throne, and Bharata worshipped them every day.

Kambar's version has often been praised for the beauty of its treatment of Rama's story. It is no mere translation of Valmiki, but a fresh treatment of an older theme.

> 'Kamban has not translated Valmiki. He has merely taken the story immortalized by the Aryan sage and, though he has followed it closly in all its details, has written an entirely original poem. Bentley said of Pope's *Iliad*: " It is a pretty poem, but you must not call it Homer." Of Kamban's *Ramayana* we should say, reversing the language, " it is not Valmiki's *Ramayana*, but it is a grander poem."[14]

In Indonesia and Malaysia

The story of Rama has travelled throughout South-east Asia, and in every case, it has been assimilated to the culture of each country to which it has come. As recently as 1961 a Djakarta publisher brought out a book entitled *Ramayana, Our National Reader*, a demonstration that Indonesia has embraced the story as its own. Our interest, however, is in more ancient versions. Whether the variants from Valmiki's versions seen in South-east Asia represent departures from Valmiki's text or whether they preserve traditions current before the time of Valmiki we cannot discuss here.'[15]

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12. Nilmadhav Sen, "The Influence of the Epics on Indian Life and Literature," *Cultural History of India*, The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 1962, i, 115.

13. V.V.S. Aiyar, *Kamba Ramayana, A Study* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1967), p. 272.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

15. The point is discussed by B. R. Chatterjee, "The Ramayana and the Mahabharata in Southeast Asia", in *Cultural Heritage*........(*op. cit.*,) chap. 8. Chatterjee contends that some of the Javanese variants may be older than Vālmīki's epic.

The old Javanese Ramayana, the *Kākāwin*, may have been written around A.D. 1100. Grouped with this text is also the *Serat Rāma* and a prose paraphrase of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. A second group, including the *Rāma Kling*, the *Serat Kāṇḍa*, the *Rāmāyaṇa Sasak*, and the *Rāma Nitis* are more closely related to the Malay version, the *Hikāyat Serī Rām*. In the *Serat Kāṇḍa* Muslim legends are combined with Indian themes, and Adam, Noah, and even Satan make their appearance. The Muslim influence is even stronger in the Malay version.[16]

The Malay (Malaysian) version, *Hikāyat Serī Rām*, may have been derived from popular Rama sagas of India, but it originated in Indonesia "from the mixed influence of predominately oral tradition, agreeing in general with our Indonesian tales."[17] In this version Bharata's visit to the forest follows the death of Vālin, and the locale of the encounter has been moved to Lagur Katagina, the city of monkeys. After refusing to return to Lanka, Rama acceded to the joint request of Bharata and Śatrughna and gave them his own sandals. They are not placed on the throne, as in the Indian versions, but attached to the diadem of Bharata and Śatrughna.[18] A significant side note can be seen in the observation that

> "the Paramount Ruler of Malaysia (Yang di-pertuan Agong), is to this day addressed with the introductory form of address, Paduka yang mulia (literally meaning Noble Sandals) or Seri Paduka Baginda (Most fortunate Holy Sandals) followed by other titles. It would seem that there is some connection between the customary title of address for Paramount Ruler and other rulers and the tradition mentioned in the story of Rama that Bharata was given the Sandals of Rama as symbols of sovereignty."[19]

Indochina

In the peninsula lying between India and China, Buddhism was a more pervasive influence than Islam, and Buddhism proved to be a congenial atmosphere for the *Ramayana* to develop. *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* tales form the basis of many sculptures throughout the area, but it is in Thailand that the story reaches a peak of refinement. Thailand displays as unique a blend of Indian and Chinese ideas as Thai cooking combines tastes from both areas, but the cultural orientation of Thailand is more Indian than Chinese. To strengthen their monarchy, Thai kings (regularly named *Rama*) obtained brahmin-priests to perform ceremonies, perhaps indicating that the king is an avatar.[20]

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16. I have treated this theme at greater length in "An Introduction to the Study of the Ramayana in South and Southeast Asia", a paper read at the International Conference-Seminar on Tamil Studies, Kuala Lumpur, April, 1966.

17. Alexander Zieseniss, *The Rama Saga in Malaysia,* Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, Ltd., (Singapore: 1963) p. 1.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

19. S. Singaravelu, "A Comparative Study of the Story of Rama in South India and Southeast Asia", paper read at the International Conference-Seminar on Tamil Studies, Kuala Lumpur, April, 1966.

20. Sukich Nimma Heminda, "Indian Culture in Thailand," 1962 *Sri Vyasa Vidwat Souvenir*, (Madras, 1963), pp. 79-80.

In the Thai version also, the sandals prove a way out of the impasse created when Bharata refuses to take the throne Rama will not occupy. He installs them as the monarch and does homage to them. There are some variations between the Thai version and that of Valmiki. Guha ("Khukhan" in Thai) rowed the boat across the Ganges instead of staying back as in Valmiki's version, and Bharata was barred from performing the obsequeis for Dasaratha. As in the *Hikāyat Serī Rām*, Bharata was accompanied by all three queens of Ayodhya, and, unlike Valmiki's version, he obtains the actual sandals of Rama, not imprints of Rama's feet on sandals he has himself provided.

The Thai version and the Kambar-version agree that Khukhan accompanied Rama on the barge paddled by himself, that Bharata was barred from performing all the necessary obsequies, that all three mothers accompanied him and that Rama handed him his own sandals. The Thai version, the Malay version, and Kambar's version, all depict Bharata as wearing the sandals as a crown.[21]

Pādukābhakti

The Pādukā of Rama were not ordinary sandals; they had been used by the feet of the man of *dharma*. They have become the feet of Rama, possessing the power of Rama himself, and the traditional devotion paid to the master's feet can be directed toward the sandals. The sandals were not Rama, but, in his absence, Rama's kingdom could be ruled with justice. Centuries after Valmiki's time, the sandals can be an object of bhakti, as devotees recreate this event of the Rama saga.

All manner of objects can serve for bhakti devotions, but within the cult of Rama, the incident we have been describing throughout this paper has given rise to an important form of reverence. In recounting the many forms of bhakti (devotion) we may begin with *sravana* (listening to the Lord's glory) and proceed to *smaraṇa* (constant meditation upon him). But *Pādasevana* (worship of the Lord's feet), as Dr. V. Raghavan has pointed out,

> "is a devotional mode exemplified by Bharata and the adoration of Rama's Pādukā. The adoration of the Lord's feet is a common form of worship in both Hinduism and Buddhism. Literary, historical and monumental evindences bear out the prevalence in ancient India of the wide-spread practice of worshipping the divine foot-prints at particular holy spots, Vishnu pāda, Buddha-pāda, Śiva-pāda and Rāma-pāda. Rama's feet had two great exploits to their credit : the recreation of Ahalyā from her accursed stone-state, and through their sandals, ruling over the kingdom of Ayodhyā."[22]

Accordingly we should expect that great poet-musician of Sri Rama, Tyagaraja, to venerate the feet of Lord Rama, and indeed, we may cite two songs in which he adores the exploits of the feet.

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21. Singaravelu, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

22. Dr. V. Raghavan, An Introductory Thesis to *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyagaraja*, by C. Ramanujachari, Ramakrishna Mission Student's Home, (Madras, 1957), pp. 152-3.

Srī Rāma pādamā nī kripa jālunae
chittāniki rāve * * *
dārini śilayai tāpamu tālaka
vāramu kannīrunu rālchaga
śūra Ahalyanu jūchi brochitivi
yārīti dhanyuseyave Tyāgarāja-geyamā !

O Blessed feet of Rama ! Suffices it if I could secure your grace. Come and take your home in my mind. Taking compassion on Ahalyā, you redeemed her and restored her human form. Can I not crave to be blessed similarly?

Sandehamunu dīrpumayya
Sāketanilaya Rāmayya
Nandārchita padayugmulu melo
nāgarīkamagu pādukāyugambulu melo
vara maunulella charanambulanu
smariyimpa nīdu padamosangene
Bharatārchanache pādukalu
dharani ninnosage Tyāgarāja bhāgyamā.

O Rama, pray, clear my doubt. Are your holy feet, worshipped by Nanda, great, or your elegant sandals great? The great sages who worshipped your feet secured a status equal to yours, but Bharata who worshipped your sandals got yourself!

Tyagaraja has other songs honoring the holy feet of Rama, saying in one place that he could never give up Rama's lotus-feet. In another place he desires to stroke the lotus-feet every day, and elsewhere he maintains that the constant thought of the Lord's feet "constitute his very life and breath."[23]

Throughout the ages, the veneration of Rama's feet has been recommended as a form of devotion destined to bring spiritual benefit to the devotee. A series of prayers directed towards the feet ("sandals") of Rama attest to the belief that the foot-print may be more powerful as an instrument of obtaining grace than even the Lord himself. The sandals are included among the *mahatmas* to whom prayers can be offered :

> O Pādukā Devi ! Have not poets and acharyas sung that your fame is greater than even the Lord of the three worlds, Sri Ramachandra Himself! How glorious was your reign till the return of Sri Rama to Ayodhya? Worthy indeed you were, for were you not pledged with Bharata for the rule of Ayodhya ? Is not the thing pledged more valuable than the value received by pledging it? Bless us all with fear-free, virtuous lives.[24]

Prayers have been written for every part of Rama's body, but those directed towards the feet are of special interest to us.

"O Pādukā ! I have no doubt in my mind that your worth is much greater than all the three worlds or even Sri Rama (Whose *Feet* you have the fortune

23. *Ibid*, pp. 153-5.
24. *Select Shrines of Sri Rama* (*op. cit.*, p. 103).

to carry at all times). Had it not been so, how could you happen to be mortgaged to Bharata in lieu of Rama Whom alone the former wanted?"[25]

"I prostrate at dawn before the louts-feet of the Lord of Raghus which carry auspicious *rekhās* of padma, aṅkuśa, etc., and bring me prosperity; feet that are resorted to, like bees, by the minds of great sages and which redeemed the consort of Gautama (Ahalyā) from her curse."[26]

The extent to which such devotion can be carried may be seen in the following prayer to Rama :

Personification of personal charms and perfect figure ! O Lord whose face is always lit up with a benign smile ! O handsome one whom even a crore of *manmathas* cannot equal ! O shining one whom even a crore of suns cannot match ! O virtuous one in whom Dharma is rooted and who is rooted in Dharma ! Most learned of the learned ! Wielder of the most potent missiles ! O valorous one ! O exemplar of all that is great, good and virtuous ! O dutiful one ! O model for every type of human being ! The poets picture you thus : " Lakshmana holding the royal umbrella, Bharata and Śatrughna waving two white *cāmaras*, Hanuman, Sugrīva and others bowing low, you are seated with Sita on the jewelled throne of the Ikshvakus in the Virasana posture !" Sri Ramachandra, *Your Lotus-feet are our sole refuge* ! We repeat this again and again ! Make us worthy of them."[27]

Appreciation

Although I was only a short-term visitor to India, I was honored to have known His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti peetha. I wish to add my greetings in conection with the Diamond Jublee of his Ascension to the Peetha, and the completion of sixty years of his mission. May his life continue to bless Indians and foreign visitiors alike !

25. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
26. *Ibid.* p. 3.
27. *Ibid*, p. 111 (itals. mine).

A NOTE ON SOME ASPECTS OF HASSIDISM AND BHAKTI

ARTUR ISENBERG, *U.S.*

For the Jews of Eastern Europe the 18th century offered a barren perspective, haunted by memories of mass slaughter in which perhaps as many as half a million souls perished amid scenes of brutality not witnessed again until the 20th century. Nor did their religion—as then practised—offer much consolation. Belief in the coming of the Messiah was all but shattered by the exposure of the half-a-dozen pseudo-Messiahs who had meteoric careers in the 17th century, bestrode the stage like colossi, creating religious fervour among Jewish communities, only to be unmasked as madmen or charlatans, leaving behind a spiritual devastation scarcely less tragic than the physical havoc wrought by the Cossack rebellion under Bogdan Chmielincki.

Religion as taught by the East European rabbis had sunk to the level of sterile hair-splitting while expounding the Talmud : the letter was everything, the spirit almost nothing.

Life was grim, uncertain. God was all but buried under the sophistries of the theologians. Nowhere was joy to be found. Emotions were stifled.

The time was ripe for a spiritual revolution.

It came with elemental force in the legend-enshrined person of Israel ben Eliezer still known to many Jews as " Besht ", an acronym of his " title ", Baal Shem Tov—"Master of the Good Name", *i.e.* of the ineffable secret name of God.

While the movement which the Baal Shem ushered in—Hassidism—reached its peak during the 18th century, it has by no means died out even today and still numbers its followers in the hundreds of thousands[1, 2, 4].

Who was Israel ben Eliezer ?

Once again we are confronted with the fact familiar to us from so many other lives of spiritual giants—of the record being silent or full of rival claims and contradictions whenever it is not embellished beyond belief by loving legends : We do not know with certitude his birth-place, his birth-date, his antecedents, and the extent of his formal education.

Most scholars agree that the future "Besht" was born in circa 1700 in one or the other of several obscure Eastern European villages, perhaps somewhere in South-Eastern Poland, perhaps still further South, in Rumania.

It seems established that he was orphaned in earliest childhood and we catch the echo of the biblical story of Abraham and Sarah in the legend that his parents were " nearly a hundred years old " at the time of his birth.

Parentless before he was ten years old, the child was looked after by the Jewish community of his birth-place. He made a very poor pupil, playing the truant whenever he could, staying in the forests or roaming through the

fields. In the process he developed a love of nature, a feeling for the essential unity and beauty of creation which never left him in his life-time. He had a way with children and with animals.

An early marriage led to tragedy, his wife dying after a few years. A commercial venture as an inn-keeper also was doomed to failure.

Somewhere, somehow Israel ben Eliezer discovered that he had the healing touch. Gradually his fame spread and he began to attract admirers and even followers.

Remarried, he settled in Miedzyboz where he led a simple, unpretentious existence. He now began to propound the thoughts and to act out the feelings which had come to him in his years of lonely wanderings through fields and forests. Like Socrates, the Baal Shem is not known ever to have written anything.

What he taught in his talks with his disciples was a kind of ecstatic mysticism, a joyful affirmation of the unity of God, and God's omnipresence which included and suffused mind and matter, body and soul, saint and sinner[2], [4].

God, the Baal Shem taught, must be approached through joyous prayers, with dancing and exaltation of spirit. He must not be feared but loved. A merely intellectual approach, let alone the arid legalism of the theologians, has little to offer to God or man. One of the Baal Shem's remarks illustrates the point : " All that I have achieved I have achieved, not through study, but through prayer."[1]

Evil is neither ultimately real nor " a thing ": it is a relationship grounded on man's view of things rather than on things themselves. It follows that no man has fallen so low that he cannot rise again through loving faith and what might be called spiritual optimism. Severe fasts, mortifications of the flesh, ostentatious display of grief and sadness—all these are unnecessary and, in a sense, an insult to God.

The Baal Shem thus stressed the essential immediacy of man's relation to God.

Prayer often was accompanied, indeed almost took the form of ecstatic dancing and singing, sometimes further heightened by the use of wine or even stronger beverages.

The Baal Shem Tov's teachings were spread and preserved in hundreds of anecdotes and stories, a few of which are re-told below, taken from the classic " Tales of the Hassidim " of Martin Buber, the saintly philosopher and scholar, whose death was mourned a few years ago.

Thus on one occasion the Baal Shem declared : " When I weld my spirit to God I let my mouth say what it will, for then all my words are bound to their root in Heaven."[1]

On another occasion the Baal Shem Tov stopped at the entrance of a synagogue and refused to go in, saying, " It is crowded with teachings and

prayers from wall to wall and from floor to ceiling. How could there be room for me?" Then, noticing that those with him did not understand his meaning, he added : "The words from the lips of those whose teaching and praying do not come from the hearts lifted to Heaven, cannot rise but fill the house from wall to wall and from floor to ceiling."[1]

On yet a third occasion a disciple asked : "Why is it that one who clings to God and knows he is close to Him, nevertheless sometimes experiences a sense of interruption and remoteness?" The Baal Shem Tov replied : "When a father sets out to teach his little son to walk, he stands in front of him and holds his two hands on either side of the child, so that he cannot fall, and the boy comes towards his father between his father's hands. But the moment he is close to his father, the father moves away a little and holds his hand farther apart, and he does this over and over so that the child may learn to walk."[1]

The veneration in which the founder of Hassidism was held by his followers is apparent from many stories of which the following may serve as a typical example : Once when all the world's souls were gathered in Adam's soul, and Adam approached the Tree of Knowledge to eat its fruit in defiance of God's commandment, the soul of the Baal Shem Tov went away and, alone of all the souls gathered in Adam, did not break God's law.

From all these stories, anecdotes and legends, there emerges the figure of a God-intoxicated man who restored for thousands of Jews, the warm beating heart of a religion which was in danger of becoming a spiritual wasteland.

The system was not free from hidden dangers. In the course of time, it led to the emergence of the Zaddikim (literally : just and righteous men), each of whom, following in the footsteps of the Baal Shem Tov, became the spiritual leader of a group of followers or even an entire Jewish community. The Zaddikim are comparable in many respects to the *gurus* : they were held in the highest esteem by their followers, by whom they were consulted on many problems, mundane and spiritual. Many were worthy men but some were arrant hypocrites pitilessly exploiting the credulity of their followers in order to lead lives of ostentatious luxury.

For a while it became fashionable for the wealthy leaders of Jewish communities to make a big show of their pretended reverence for the well-known Zaddikim, as distinct from their more humble, poorer colleagues. What the true Zaddikim thought of this attitude is delightfully illustrated in the story of Rabbi Zusya and Rabbi Elimelekh, two poor and unknown Zaddikim who often came to the city of Ludmir, where they always slept in the house of a poor, devout man. Years later, their reputation having grown all over the country, they again visited Ludmir, this time, however, not on foot but in a carriage. The moment he learned of their arrival, the wealthiest man in town who had utterly ignored them on all earlier visits, came running and begged them to be his personal guests in his magnificent mansion. The Rabbis replied : "Nothing has changed in us to make you respect us more than before. What is new

are the horses and the carriage. Take them for your guests but let us stay with our old host, as usual."[1]

While there are of course many and important differences, there are also, it seems to me, undeniable points of profound similarity between the Indian Bhaktas and the Hassidim. Both tend to minimise the role of learning and intellect, of punctilious ritualism and theological legalism, while emphasizing a loving, intimate relationship with the deity conceived as all-pervasive, serene and loving.

I believe that the spirit in the following poem of the Bhakta Māṇikkavācakar breathes in essence, the same spirit which animates the true Hassidim :

" I ask not kin, nor name, nor place,
Nor learned men's society.
Men's lore for me no value has ;
Kuttālam's Lord, I come to Thee,
Wilt Thou one boon on me bestow
A heart to melt in longing sweet,
As yearns o'er new-born calf the cow,
In yearning for Thy sacred feet ?"[3]

or, take the following, from Tirumoolar's Tirumantram : " The ignorant think that love and Sivam are different. They do not know that love becomes or settles into Sivam. After knowing that love becomes or settles into Sivam, they rest themselvas in that condition in which love has settled into Sivam."

" He (the Lord) is within and without love. He forms the body of love, He is both before and after.......He is the help of those who love Him."[5]

Again, compare Nammālvār's :

" We have seen, we have seen, we have seen—seen things sweet in our eyes. Come, all ye lovers of God, let us shout and dance for joy with oft-made surrenderings. Wide do they roam on earth, singing songs and dancing, the hosts of Kṛṣṇa who wears the cool and beautiful Tulasi, the desire of the Bees."[5]

Similar sentiments are expressed by Bhaktas of later periods in other parts of India. The common feature is the ecstatic yearning for, and revelling in, the love of God, characteristically couched in terms of intimacy and immediacy. This is also a constant and perhaps the central feature of the Hassidism founded by the Baal Shem Tov.

It would be interesting to know something of the social, psychological, and spiritual conditions immediately preceding the rise of the Bhakti-movements in different parts of India at different times. Unfortunately, my knowledge of the history of these places and regions is almost nil and does not permit me to go beyond stating a rather vague personal impression that, at least in some instances of the later Bhakti-movements, there may be historic parallels, *i.e.*, that similar conditions may have preceded the origins of Hassidism and of some forms of Bhakti.

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HINDUISM IN AMERICA

BEATRICE PITNEY LAMB, *New York*

Having had the privilege of meeting His Holiness the Sankaracharya and of sitting near him for a while on a peaceful slope of land while his remarks were translated for me by my friend, Dr. V. Raghavan, I am glad of the opportunity to contribute to the Commemorative Volume being prepared in his honor. I saw the quality of his spirit and was glad.

Instead of commenting directly on some aspect of Hindu thought or culture, I think it more appropriate—since I am a foreigner—to describe what I have seen of the interest in Hinduism in my own country, the United States.

As I am sure most Hindus know, when Vivekananda made his famous trip to America in the closing years of the 19th century, his eloquent exposition of Hinduism made a profound impression on the American audiences before which he spoke, and many newspaper-stories were written about him. Naturally an impression of that kind fades somewhat after the speaker is gone, but a lasting result of his visit was the foundation of Vedanta Societies which have served ever since as meeting places for some of the Americans anxious to learn about Hindu thought. I believe there are today Vedanta Societies in about twelve American cities. Beside holding meetings of prayer, meditation, and music, they generally offer lectures on aspects of Hinduism with various distinguished Swamis as speakers. I myself went to the Vedanta Society in New York City at about 1948, a year before I first went to India. Only a few people were at that meeting and it is my impression that the Vedanta Societies as a whole do not have what might be called a truly large membership. Their members, however, are fervent advocates of Hinduism, often vigorously seeking to convert others to their faith.

Perhaps it was this aspect of the Vedanta movement in America which did not appeal to me. At all events, I did not become a member and have since then listened to the lectures of the Swamis only rarely.

In New York City, other Americans influenced by Sri Aurobindo have formed a group of their own and hold meetings from time to time to honor the Mother in Pondicherry. At these meetings tape recordings of the Mother reading from the works of Sri Aurobindo are played.

Similarly, as I understand it, American devotees of other Hindu thinkers, sages, saints and gurus have formed small groups in one place or another. I am told there are many such groups on our West or Pacific coast. Perhaps particularly in that area there seems to be also substantial interest in learning yoga exercises.

Probably more numerous than the Americans who are members of the types of groups described above, are those who have come relatively recently, through quite different routes, to hold certain Hindu beliefs.

To some extent this is the result of the steadily increasing availability of college and university courses on comparative religion and of a reasonably fair attitude (in these courses) to non-Christian religions. (The chief minority religion in the United States is, of course, Judaism. In the brief space at my disposal I cannot do justice to the Judaic point of view on the matters I touch).

Whereas the prevailing concern of courses on comparative religion even a few decades ago used to be to teach the student just enough about Hinduism, Buddhism, and the rest, so that a Christian would know how to condemn those other religions effectively, now the typical professor of comparative religion usually tries earnestly to understand and convey the validity of the other routes toward the Divine. Careful work has gone into the preparation of books on the various other religions which are fair and sympathetic. A leading American educational foundation, the Hazen Foundation of New Haven, Connecticut, has devoted much attention to this and has made a major contribution thereby to the improvement of courses in comparative religion. For example, it conceived and financed one of the pioneering books still regularly used in American class-rooms where Hinduism is taught. I refer, of course, to *The Religion of the Hindus*, edited by Kenneth W. Morgan, but composed entirely of thoughtful papers written by distinguished Indian scholars. It includes, for example, an excellent section by Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit at Madras University. The Director of the Hazen Foundation has informed me that this book, first published by Ronald Press in 1953, continues year after year to have a steady sale for use in American class-rooms.

Since its publication, various collections of excerpts from the sacred texts of Hinduism and other religions have also been published, usually with annotations designed to make them understandable to American readers. Probably the most distinguished of these is that prepared by President Radhakrishnan with the help of the American Professor Charles A. Moore. Entitled *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy*, it was published in 1957 by the Princeton University Press.

Then too, a number of Hindu sacred texts have been made available by now in the United States in low-cost paperback edition and have, therefore, had wide sales. Thus there is no dearth of authentic and reliable material for use in classes on comparative religions.

The popularity of such courses and such readings has increased as people have become more and more dissatisfied with orthodox Christian answers to the great questions of life. Specifically, the doctrine that there was one (but only one) incarnation of the Divine seems to many modern Americans a wholly inadequate answer to the great question of the place of spirit in the universe. The doctrine of the resurrection, pivotal to orthodox Christian thought, is also difficult for many "Christians" to accept.

Meanwhile, the terrible uncertainties created by the discovery of nuclear energy and by the proliferation of the bomb have caused Americans to feel the need more than ever of a religious approach with the help of which they can achieve at least some inner quiet.

Recently interest in Hinduism (if not always acceptance of Hindu beliefs) has grown by leaps and bounds. Even mass media television networks have recognized this by featuring from time to time a lecture or talk dealing with Hinduism or touching on it. One network last year went so far as to give a series of (I believe) six or eight lectures on Hinduism by Dr. Joseph Campbell, who worked with Heinrich Zimmer on his well-known *Philosophies of India*, and who edited the book after Zimmer's death. What Campbell on television said about Hinduism struck me personally as unappealing. (He seemed to have mixed it with too many ideas borrowed from the Swiss psychoanalyst Carl Jung). The point to be noted, however, is that no national television network would have devoted so much time to a subject unless it believed this subject to be of interest to a very large audience.

A further indication that Hinduism is today recognized as being of interest to the many rather than to the few (as before), is that the Book of the Month Club—which commands a mass market in the book-field—has listed a book on Hinduism (unfortunately not a very good book) as one of its "book dividends" —a book which its many customers can receive free if they choose.

Of course not everyone who reads or hears about Hinduism comes to accept Hindu beliefs, but to an increasing extent certain elected Hindu beliefs have entered into the minds of Americans who have heard or read about it. The particular Hindu ideas which Americans seem to find most acceptable are:

1. The concept of the formless, undefinable ultimate godhead or Brahman. (A godhead so much less anthropomorphic than the Christian God).

2. The idea that there are many paths towards that ultimate. (Again an idea totally different from the missionery Christian attitude).

3. That the Divine is present in most people but in different degrees.

I find that many Christians who have never deliberately studied Hinduism have somehow absorbed one or another of these ideas so utterly unorthodox from the Christian point of view.

I doubt if anyone could give even an approximate figure as to how many Americans have absorbed such ideas. On the whole, when they do so, they do it without advertising the fact or joining a more orthodox Hindu group. One encounters persons with Hindu-like ideas by accident only, yet I am constantly surprised by how many of these accidental encounters occur to me.

Americans who read Sanskrit texts in translation tend to be most moved by the *Bhagavad Gītā*, next by certain passages from the Upaniṣads, less so by the Vedas and the Epics.

Most of us who thus pick and choose among Hindu beliefs and writing still think of ourselves as Christians, in the sense that our mental image of the man Jesus is such that the act of thinking about him is undeniably spiritually helpful. Our more orthodox Christian friends, however, half seriously call us Hindus. What Hindus would call us I do not know. When a religion goes from one country or culture to another, it inevitably changes drastically. The transformation of Buddhism in its travels to the Far East and to South-east Asia and Ceylon are a well-known example of this. In the United States, those Christians who are glad to have found concepts within Hinduism which help to steady their hearts and minds, and to give the universe a believable coherence, are doubtless transforming Hinduism in a similar way. Familiar as I am with the Hindu attitude of tolerance towards various approaches to the Divine, I trust that this will be forgivable.

TIBET'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN CULTURE

By

LOBSNAG P. LHALUNGPA OF *Tibet, New Delhi*

This paper is presented merely to highlight the Tibetan role in the preservation and expansion of Indian culture.

The first contact with Tibet was made by the Indian scholar Buddharakshita in the fourth Century A.D. who visited the Yarlung kingdom in South Tibet with an interpreter from Khotan. He presented the king Lhathothori with a Sanskrit manuscript and a sacred stupa.

He had, however, to return home because the conditions were not favourable for introducing Buddhist religion. It was introduced in Tibet in 7th century A.D. when she was a formidable military power in Upper Asia under the first Emperor Songtsan Gampo, who was anxious to bring about an intellectual and cultural transformation in his kingdom.

He married a Chinese Princess and although in many ways, he was impressed by the Chinese civilisation and culture, he turned to India for spiritual guidance. In India, he saw a peaceful neighbour.... never seeking to dominate others ; so the close spiritual and cultural ties between Tibet and India came to pass.

This act of vision and statesmanship of the Emperor Songtsan.......... culminated in the closest Indo-Tibetan cultural links in the establishment of a spiritual order in Tibet and her subsequent contribution to the parent culture and its expansion.

Buddhism was patronized by the successive Tibetan royal rulers from 7th to 11th century A.D. except for the period of King Langday's rule during which it suffered a set back. It was by no means an easy task. The Tibetans had their own pre-Buddhist civilisation.

Their religion was known as Bon and was akin to Shahmanism and Zoroastrianism. Bon itself was identified with the forces of nature and later with the God or the Truth.

The Bonpos had elaborate rites and rituals. They had priests and the monastic institutions, a society with a liberal social tradition and ideal of brotherhood. The Bonpos resented any change in their religious and cultural outlook.

After considerable strife between the old and the new forces Buddhism made its headway and established itself firmly in Tibet.

After a hundred years, the Tibetans had gradually succumbed to this new faith and had undergone a kind of transmutation from their militant adventurism to a level of cultural refinement and spiritual awakening.

The role of Indian scholars in establishing Buddhism and with it much of the Indian culture, is too well known, to need any mention here.

Their influence over the Tibetan ruling classes and their intensive propagation of Buddhism had contributed much to the decline of the Bon religion in Tibet.

This is also the case of the Chinese Mahayana Buddhism which was being propagated by the Chinese teachers in Tibet in the 8th century A.D.

The decline of the Chinese influence was brought about in a very tactful way. It may be of some interest to mention about the debate between Kamalasila, the disciple of Santarakshita—who founded the first monastic order of Samye in South Tibet in 8th century A.D. and the Chinest Mahayana monk Washang (witnessed by the followers of both Indian and Chinese forms of Buddhism). The Emperor Trisong Detsan and the ruling members were present. The subject was the vital question of applying the critical analysis of the reality.

The Chinese Master propagated the principle of the cessation of all ideas and thoughts so that the individual could realise his emancipation. The Indian scholar refuted the Chinese argument by saying that one cannot obtain spiritual insight without intellectual understanding and critical application—the Chinese contention was defeated : whereupon the King insisted that the Chinese teacher and his followers must leave Tibet.

With their indomitable spirit, physical vigour and absolute devotion, Buddhists in Tibet did everything to preserve and develop the noble heritage that they had newly acquired from India.

Other forms of the Buddhist tradition and culture came to Tibet indirectly from Khotan -Eastern Turkistan and Kashmir in the North, China in the East and Nepal in West. But Tibet inherited mainly the complex form of Buddhism prevalent in India between 7th and 12th century.

Tibet owes to India, not only her religious and monastic institutions but also much of her culture. Even our script was invented after the Northern Gupta and Sarada scripts of ancient Kashmir and its grammar was adapted after the Sanskrit grammar—although modified to suit the peculiarity of the Tibetan language. Tibetan culture was also influenced by India in the art of painting, religious architecture, iconography, drama, mystic dance and literature.

Indian influence on the tradition and custom of Tibet may best be illustrated here by the fact that the Tibetans preserve to this day the fine principle of holding one's teacher in high esteem—so essential in pursuit of knowledge and higher spiritual discipline.

Now I should like to deal a little more with the Tibetan literary achievement in which the role of Indian scholars was very great indeed. As already stated the invention of the Tibetan script and adaptation of the grammar by

Thonmi in 7th century A.D., as well as the introduction of the rules and directives, scientifically formulated and the compilation of the Bilingual technical terms by the Literary Council in 9th century, had made it possible for the competent body of scholars to undertake the translation of the Buddhist scriptures into the Tibetan language.

This gigantic task was carried on for centuries. Their method was exemplary. It was only after Tibetan scholars had completed their studies and training at such centres as Nalanda and were able to absorb and assimilate their teachings that they undertook the translation into Tibetan of Sanskrit manuscripts, under the guidance of competent Indian teachers.

This approach was responsible for ensuring the efficiency and accuracy in rendering, not only the correct meanings, but also in conveying profundity of the thoughts whilst maintaining both style and beauty.

The enormous translations include not only the canonical and extra-canonical literature but also non-canonical writings, comprising the works of Indian scholars. Treatises on medicine, astrology, biographies, grammars, lexica, logic, political ethics, dance, drama, arts and architecture.

Today, modern scholars find these translations absolutely faithful to their Sanskrit originals so much so that some of them are being used for restoring Sanskrit texts lost in India. Incidentally, Tibet also preserved a great mass of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts. Now one wonders what fate these invaluable treasures have met with in recent times.

The transformation of Indian culture began with the use of the Tibetan language in place of Sanskrit and the Tibetans made their own contributions to it. This was in order to evolve a distinctive individuality of their own. They had attained a high quality of refinement and the Tibetan language had become a handy instrument of further development and expansion of Indian Buddhist culture.

Having produced an indigenous literature, covering a wide range of fields, from philosophy to philology, from poems to history, logic, medicine, and so forth, Tibet's expert caligraphers began producing manuscripts—this practice is still kept alive.

Wooden blocks or xylographs were made for printing books of all sizes, the advantage being that the blocks could be used at any time or reprinting purposes. The study of Sanskrit was done through numerous grammars, including the formidable Pāṇini, a grammarian, of whom it was said that he was a profound codifier and was so abstruse and exhaustive that a student required no less than a quarter of his life to study and master his work.

Sūtras of Pāṇini, together with the commentary of Rāmacandra were rendered, word by word, into Tibetan; and from Tibetan, they were then translated into Mongolian and Manchurian and there was even a developed extension of the study of Pāṇini. Tibet preserved, maintained and developed in a Tibetan way, the very high standards of the Indian Universities.

The Tibetan higher studies were and still are extensive. Besides the general study of the Buddhist literature, a student must be specialized in every school of thought, every branch of traditional learning and this is bewilderingly vast. Every stage is associated with spiritual training. To ensure a thorough knowledge and deep understanding a unique method of disputation was evolved between the teacher and the student, or between students of the same or different monastic colleges. Only by systematically established methods, rules and regulations, critical analysis, dialectical examinations of contradictions one can attain deep insight and arrive at the necessary conclusions.

Tibet's contribution to the expansion of its Indian cultural heritage is no mean achievement. Having undergone a spiritual transformation, the Tibetans acted as harbingers of India's spiritual message with great conviction. They played a very decisive role in introducing Buddhism in Inner and Outer Mongolia ; among Russian Kalmuks whose domain extended upto the Volga ; into Himalayan areas such as Ladhak, Sikkim, Bhutan, NEFA and the Tibetan-speaking areas of Nepal.

Since they wielded a great influence over the Mongolians, they were able to bring about harmony between the warring chiefs of Mongolia and also between Mongolia and China where the Tibetan style of Buddhism was patronised by the Yuan, Mingh and Manchu Dynasties.

Just as in the ancient tradition of India, the Tibetans always sought to extend their efforts not merely to cultural or intellectual advancement in their outer forms, but also by a well balanced outlook. The Tibetans were anxious to evolve and maintain their own individuality, socially and culturally. Their ingenuity lies in their ability and insight to synthesise and develop the different traditional cultures that they had acquired from others. In this way they became to a certain extent unique as far as their religious institutions, spiritual hierarchy, monastic order and composition of their culture was concerned.

Nevertheless, it represents the soul and spirit of India of the golden age,- the spirit that is dynamic in function, infinite in depth, eternal in its wisdom, liberal in its humanism and splendid in its ideal of universal peace and happiness for all.

Thus Tibet played a role in preserving the ancient Indian culture for many centuries and indeed this was still the case until the tragic invasion of our country.

"THERE IS NO BAR IN RELIGION"

By

ROBERT H.L. SLATER, *Toronto, Canada*

" A true Yogi. . . .when you look at him, you will see that his face is serene and at peace."

The speaker was His Holiness Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswati Sri Pada, the esteemed Sankaracharya of the Kanchi Kamakoti Peetha. His visitor was the American author, Arthur Koestler, who wrote afterwards that his Holiness " spoke without a trace of self-consciousness ; it evidently did not occur to him that the description applied to himself. "

Others who have been privileged to meet His Holiness have felt the same. And I must surely include myself. It was close upon midnight, a year ago in the month of March, when I was introduced to His Holiness by my friend, Professor Raghavan, in a small court-yard adjoining a temple* in Madras, and I was immediately impressed, and remained impressed, by the saintly serenity and transparent sincerity betokened by every word spoken by His Holiness throughout my audience. It was a serenity altogether in keeping with the calm of the evening as we talked together beneath the stars.

Any suspicion that this serenity pertains to virtue which is not only cloistered but fugitive, sustained at the price of indifference to the world outside the cloisters, is at once dispelled by His Holiness's alert and concerned interest in what is happening in this world. I was indeed partly prepared for this. For I had been told of His Holiness's ministering travels throughout the length and breadth of India. I had read how he had journeyed in regal, old-time state befitting his high office ; how, soon after his installation as Acharya of this venerable Mutt, he had set off on the first of these tours, carried " in his palanquin, followed by about 200 people, 30 bullock carts, with elephants, camels and horses. . . . . .a procession reminiscent of the olden times, with its rich pageantry of equipage and colour, wending its way in an impressive fashion through the country-side ". I had also read how these tours, " conducted " not in the hurried modern way by car or rail, but at a snail's pace on foot or in palanquin " had been undertaken so that the Swami might have intimate acquaintance with the life of the people and shape his teaching to their changing needs ; how in this same teaching he had shown his concern not only for their spiritual but for their physical welfare, initiating, for instance, co-operative projects for the improvement of village common lands and ponds. I had also read how His Holiness had not only met with some of India's eminent leaders on these tours, including Mahatma Gandhi, but had given much of his time to the simple and the humble.

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* Sri Madhavaperumal Temple, Mylapore.

I had no hesitation, therefore, in putting some of the urgent, down-to-earth questions which were vexing the minds of my friends in India. At the time of my audience it was a troubled India, an India just beginning to recover from the shock of Mr. Sastri's death in Tashkent, an India threatened by famine, disturbed by faction, with frequent references in the newspapers to widespread corruption which jeopardised prospects of stability and progress.

"Yes, indeed", replied His Holiness, "these evils were cause for concern. But was there not also reason for patience? These evils did not come from any recent yesterday. They had been long in the making; they would not be resolved in a day. . . . in India, or elsewhere. While the situation in India, with the coming of independence was new, it was not isolated. Corruption was not confined to India. Statesmen the world over were confronted by similar evils and they could only be resolved in one way."

Reflecting later on this reply, I recalled what His Holiness had said some years earlier to Paul Brunton. "Nothing but spiritual understanding between one nation and another and between rich and poor", he had emphasized, "will produce goodwill and thus bring real peace and prosperity."

"That seems far off. Our outlook is hardly cheerful, then?" Paul Brunton had said.

His Holiness had replied gently, "There is still God."

I felt that he was speaking to myself, these several years later, in terms of this same confident faith, "There is still God." Herein was the secret of his serenity and the calm which threaded his alert interest in the world outside his cloister.

What also impressed me very much was what to-day might be described as his ecumenical outlook. He asked me about America and his questions included those about North American Indians and their beliefs. This wider interest is in keeping with the way in which he has interpreted his responsibilities as leader of a Mutt, which, I understand, is especially concerned to maintain the teaching of Sankara. While His Holiness has fully accepted this responsibility and founded organisations to expound this teaching, he has also founded a movement with the express aim of bringing together of different sects in "a common devotion to God". And, besides Christians like myself, he has given ready welcome to Muslim visitors. "There is no bar in religion," he says quietly.

I count it an honour to be invited to write this tribute to His Holiness on this Diamond Jubilee of His ascension to His high office.

SRI CHANDRASEKHARENDRA SARASVATI SANKARACHARYA OF KANCHI KAMAKOTI PITHA.*

By

DR. ALBERT B. FRANKLIN, *American Consul-General, Madras*

We are living in a unique time in the world's history, when things are happening at so many different levels that, if we are caught up in any one of these levels, we are likely to be completely mistaken about the whole. On one of these levels, (the one which most interests me) the West, my West, is arriving, laboriously, after centuries of search by our most brilliant minds, at philosophical knowledge which was both implicit and explicit in India thousands of years ago. The greatest miracle of the human spirit is the sum of knowledge found in the body of lore which we collectively term the Vedanta. His Holiness, more than a half a century ago, abandoned the multitude of other levels of human existence, contest and involvement to devote himself to this Truth.

If we meet here today to honor him because of the sixty years of his accession to the title of Holiness, I believe that this is immaterial to him. I believe that he is as far beyond the titles and honors of this world as we, on our side, are in need of honoring him, as a way of symbolizing our awareness of the Reality he represents for us.

It is hard for me to find a tribute in words which expresses my feeling of admiration and gratitude towards His Holiness. Those of us who deal in words as a commodity or as a tool of trade, learn to mistrust them. Especially do we mistrust words as a means to describe a living, changing force, or personality, and like your remote ancestors, we learn to mistrust words as a means of describing ultimate things. Perhaps the most appropriate thing I can say on this occasion is a very simple thing. I come from a very God-fearing portion of Christian America, that is to say, New England. Our earliest great philosophers in that blessed corner of the earth, were among the very first Westerners to appreciate the fact that the Vedanta, far from being an outworn creed, was a vast and joyous experience that lay ahead of us. Not only do I come from that corner of the earth which bred Emerson and Thoreau, whose spirits are with us here this evening, but I am one of a long line—long as our lines in America go—of ministers and teachers. When this line started, back in the seventeenth century, ministers and teachers were usually one and the same individual. It gives me pleasure to be able to say, in these circumstances, that, though some of my ancestors were in their day the subject of controversy because of their beliefs, just as Emerson was in his day, yet not one of them, would question the appropriateness of my being here this evening. For them as for me, the spirit whom we are celebrating, represents the highest aspirations of mankind.

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* From his speech at a meeting at Srinivasa Sastri Hall, Mylapore, on February 28th 1967, in connection with the Diamond Jubilee of His Holiness.

In an article on the Meenakshi temple, I have associated His Holiness with the concept of renunciation. I said at that time that renunciation is at the heart of all of the world's great religious philosophies. It is at this epicenter of philosophy and the spirit that Sri Sankaracharya dwells. It is to share this experience with him as best as we can that we, who have not made this full renunciation, gather to celebrate his accession.

I am happy to be with you here in this spirit of tribute where tribute is so richly merited though so little needed. Rather than an honor, you are offering me an opportunity to drink from an eternal spring as we meditate on Sri Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Peetham.

LIFE AND MISSION OF HIS HOLINESS

V. R.

20—5—1894 (Jaya, Vaiśākha, 8th) Birth in Anuṣa nakṣatra, Sunday, at Villupuram. The house where he was born is now built into a large religious centre with a shrine and a Vedic school. His father was Subrahmanya Sastrigal and mother Mahalakshmi Ammal. Came of a Hoysala Carnataka Ṛgvedi Brahman family, with Kannada as mother-tongue, domiciled in Tamil Nadu. His ancestors had held offices in the Tanjore Nayak and Mahratta Courts. His grand-father Ganapati Sastri was Sarvādhikāri of the 64th and 65th Sankaracharyas of the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha, (1835-85). His mother came of the line of Govinda Dīkṣita, Minister of King Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore. H. H.'s pūrvāśrama name is Svaminathan.

1905 Upanayana at Tindivanam; learnt general subjects and music at home.

Later, was put to School in the same town; had a brilliant School record; came out as star-actor in Shakespeare's play in the School.

13—2—1907 Ordained as the 68th Sankaracharya of the Kamakoti Math in his 13th year with the Āśrama-name Sri Candraśekharendra Sarasvati. This was in the village Kalavai, 30 miles from Kāñcīpuram.

9—5—1907 Public Celebration at the Kumbhakonam Centre of the Math of his ascension to the Pīṭha.

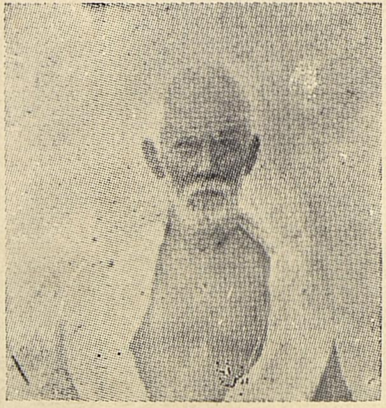
1908 Visit to Jambukesvaram and conduct of the Kumbhabhiṣeka of the temple in H.H.'s presence.

Visit to Elayattangudi in Ramanathapuram District to pay homage at the Samādhi of his predecessor the 65th Pīṭha-adhipati Sri Mahādevendra Sarasvati. Reception at the Tanjore Palace.

1908 Return to Kumbhakonam (March) and the great Mahāmagha festival there.

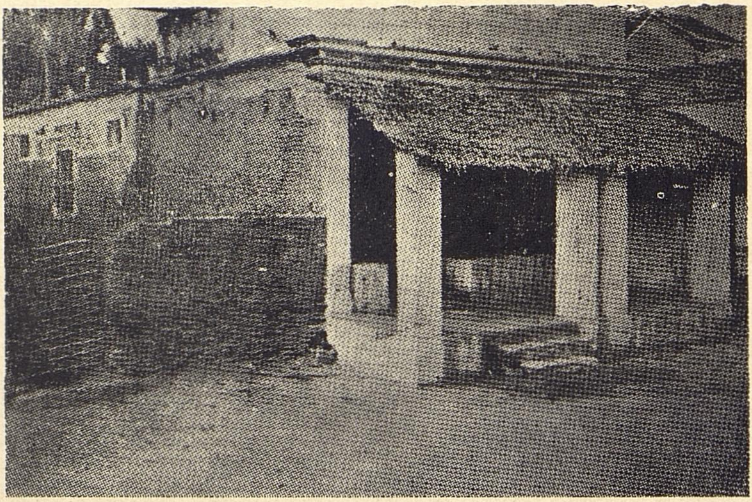
1909-10 Math Panditas taught Sanskrit to him..

1911-14 Left in 1911 for the village Mahendramangalam on the banks of Akhanda Kaveri for quiet persuit of Sanskrit and the Śāstras with the renowned Panditas of that time—Painganadu Panchapagesa Sastrigal, Mm. T. Venkatasubba

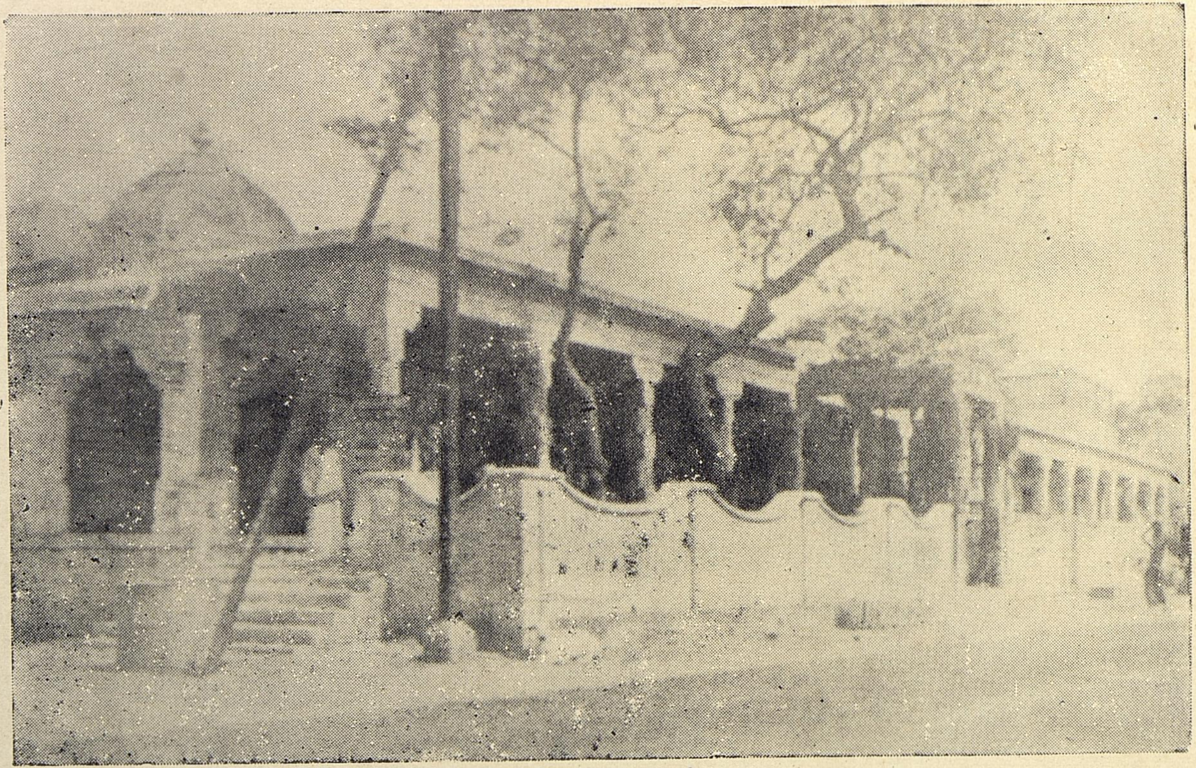


H.H.'s Pūrvāśrama Parents

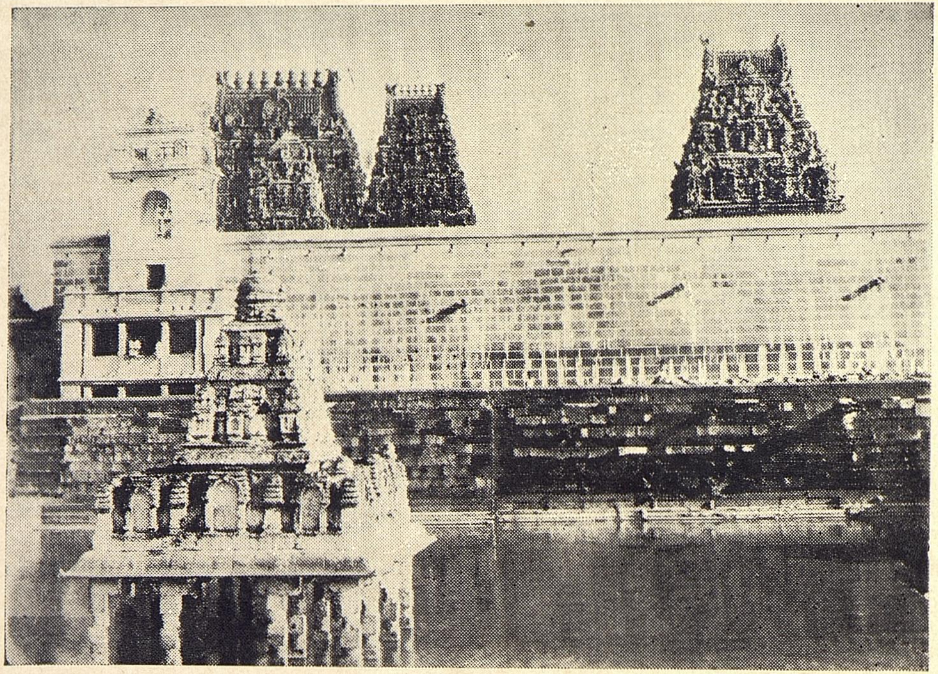
Father Subrahmanya Śāstrigal Mother Mahālakṣmī Ammāl



The house in Vizhupuram where H. H. was born. This has now been built into a large public building for Vedic and Sanskrit studies

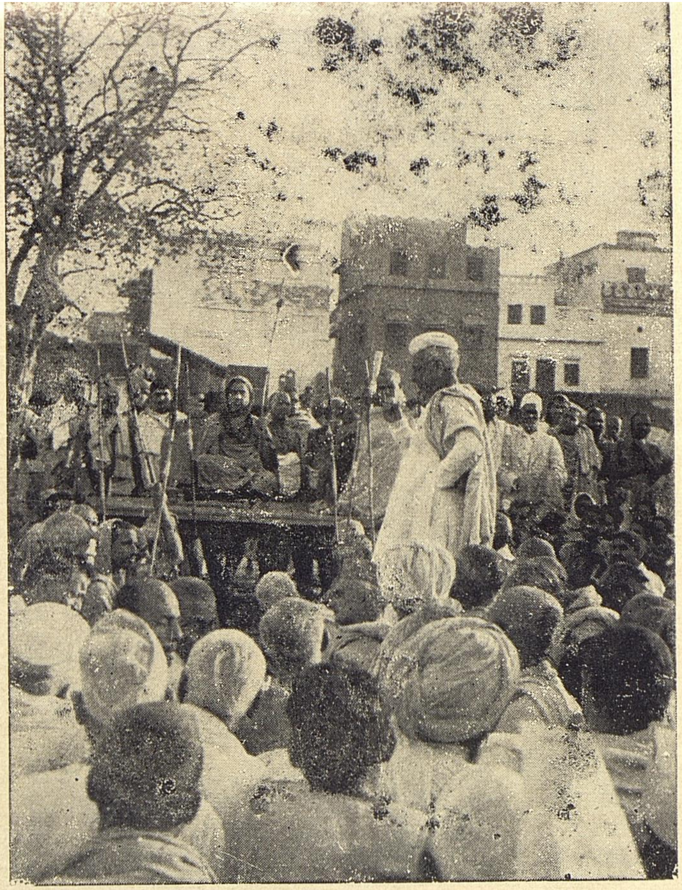


His Holiness' Math on the banks of the Kāverī at Kumbhakonam

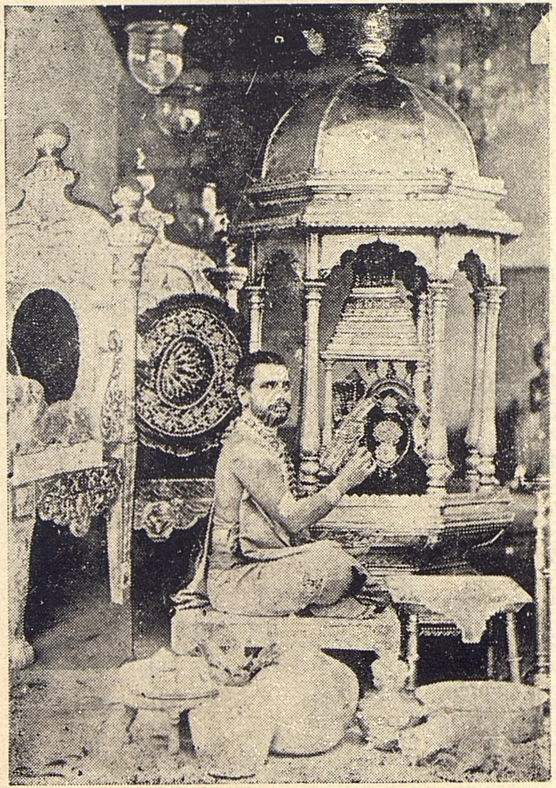


Sri Kāmākshī Ambā Temple and Tank, Kāñcī, H.Qs. of H.H.

1933: Sankara Jayanti celebrated by H.H. at Tiruvidaimarudur with the Tanjore Princes as hosts



1935: Farewell Address to H. H. by the public at the Town Hall on his leaving Banaras Camp



1919: Śivarātrī Pūjā by H.H. on the eve of his all-India tour

1909 : During H.H.'s camp in Tanjore when members of the Tanjore royal house received him

Sastrigal, Tiruvisanallur V. Venkatarama Sastrigal. Other scholars who had general supervision of H.H.'s studies were Mm. Painganadu Ganapati Sastrigal, Mm. Karunkulam Krishna Sastrigal and U. V. Rajagopala Tatachariar.

Studied also English and French; learnt Marathi for 3 years with a Maharashtra Pandit from Bombay. Pursued also intensive study of Tamil and the religious writings in it. Picked up also, astronomy, astrology and mathematics with Marur Ramaswami Sastrigal.

1914 Returned to Kumbhakonam in his 20th year.

Cultivated interest in the legendary and historical details of Temples, Epigraphy etc. with P.V. Jagadisa Iyer of the Government Epigraphists' Office.

May 1915 Sankara Jayanti Day. H. H. attained majority and assumed administration of his Math which was under a Gaurdian from 1911 to that date. Celebrated Sankara Jayanti on a grand scale. Inaugurated the Tamil magazine 'Arya Dharma'.

The Copper Plate Grants of the Math were examined and edited by T.A. Gopinatha Rao of the Archaeological Dept. of Travancore.

1916 Celebrated the Navaratri on a grand scale. The renowned nationalist-poet Subrahmanya Bharati wrote about this pūjā in the papers.

1917 Conducted in August the annual session of the Advaita Sabha and honoured Pandits with the title 'Śāstra Ratnākara'.

1917 Maharajah of Darbhanga had Darśan of H.H. and discussion with him.

Almost all leading musicians visited H. H. and received honours at his hands.

1919 Started on his tours all over the country which lasted 21 years. Visited all the important holy places, sacred rivers and temples; was received by numberless devotees, land-lords and religious heads including those of the leading Śaiva Maths of Tanjore District. Received followers of Islam and Christianity, Harijans to all of whom be gave Darśan and opportunity to discuss religious questions.

1922 Visited Ramesvaram and Setu.

H.H. wore always Khaddar for his Kāṣāya-vastras.

Received and honoured by the Rajahs of Ramnad and Sivaganga. Saw all Kṣetras of Pandya region.

1923 Received and honoured by the Rajah of Pudukkottai.

During these tours Math's branches, Vedic and Sanskrit Classes etc. were established and inaugurated at several places.

April, 1923 Reached Jambukesvaram (Tiruvānaikkā in Tiruchi) and stayed in the Kamakoti Math there.

29—4—1923 Performed the 'Tāṭanka-pratiṣṭhā' of Goddess Akhilandeśvarī in the temple here. 'Sri Cakra' had been inscribed and enclosed in the ear-rings of the Goddess by Ādi Śankara and this is renewed from time to time by Sankaracharyas of Kāmakoṭi Pītha.

A conference of Āstikas was convened by H.H. on this occasion. Veda and Vedanta Pāṭhaśālās were started in the Math here.

Visited Nerur and the Samādhi of the great Sadāśiva Brahmendra there.

1923 July-August: C.R. Das's tour in Tamil nadu on behalf of his newly founded Swaraj Party. His interview with H.H. in the company of S. Satyamurti and A. Rangaswami Iyengar, at Pattavaittalai in Tiruchi District.

The Hindu Religious Endowment Act of the Madras Government and H.H.'s representations to and blessings for the same.

1924 Purushottamadas Tandon had darśan of H.H. and H.H. gave a contribution to the Hindi Pracāra movement.

July: Havoc of Cauvery floods at Tiruvayyāru and H.H.'s relief work. Earlier H.H. donated to the Kulna Ganges flood Relief fund started by the *Hindu*.

22—3—1924 Visit to the High School at Tirukkāṭṭuppali established by Sir P.S. Sivaswami Iyer. At end of the year, during H.H.'s visit to Vallam, Christians and Muslims joined in the welcome given to him. The British Collector, Mr. H.M. Hood paid his respects to H.H. and had a discussion with him.

Studied Indian cultural expansion in S.E. Asia.

During tour of Pudukottah State, studied Pallava Cave temples and their arts of sculpture and painting.

Continued his deep study of Tamil literature and religious classics and honoured Mm. U.V. Swaminatha Iyer with title 'Dākṣiṇātya Kalānidhi'.

1925 Tour of Chettinad; welcome by leading Chettiars like Sir M.C.T. Muthiah Chettiar; T.N. Muthiah Chettiar honoured for his services to temples with the title 'Dharma Bhūṣaṇa'. Mm. Katiresan Chettiar, the Tamil Scholar had darśan and and interview

1926 January: As H.H. was proceeding for sea bath on a holy Day, a Muslim clung to his palanquin and when H.H. stopped, the

Muslim read out verses he had composed on H.H., wept and said he saw 'Allah' himself in H.H.

1926 February: Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar paid his respects and had interview.
Congress leaders, S. Satyamurti and others called on H. H.

March: Seth Jamanlal Bajaj, the Congress leader had darśan and interview with H.H., at Tiruvanaikkaval. Rajaji was also present.

July: Visit to Udayarpalayam Zamin, with which H.H.'s Math had some connections, and grand reception by the Zamindar. Later, visit to Tiruppādiripuliyūr (Cuddalore) and Puduccheri (Pondichery) (December). Welcome by the French Governor and his family.

Gave his full support and inspiration to the creation of new Temple-cars at places like Tiruvarur where cars had been lost in fire.

1927 Januaiy: visit to Vaḍavāmbalam village, south of Viḻuppuram, where the 58th Pontiff of Kāmakoṭi Maṭh Ātmabodhendra Sarasvatī had attained Samādhi; set up and consecrated his predecessor's Samādhi and Brindāvanam.

1927 Reached Salem.
On the way at Erode, a strange thing happened: A well-to-do Muslim called on H.H., saluted him and offered him a set of verses in Sanskrit composed by him, one of which was set in the difficult pictorial design (*Citra-bandha*) in the form of *Śiva-liṅga*. The Muslim composer himself read one and explained it to the great amazement of the gathering. On enquiry by H.H. he revealed that he learnt his Sanskrit and skill at composing in Sanskrit from his own father and that all this came down in their family for generations.

[H.H. has himself narrated twice to me this incident and certain other connected events that happened en route.]

26—4—1927 Visit to Coimbatore via Sulur.

2—5—1927 Visit to Palghat and its 18 villages. Received by Rajah of Kollengode. Conferment of the title 'Tiruppuhazh Maṇi' on the Madras Advocate T.M. Krishnaswami Iyer who was propagating the singing of Saint Aruṇagirinātha's Tiruppuhazh.

15—10—1927 Historic meeting of H.H. and Mahatma Gandhi who was on a S. Indian tour at that time. The meeting was at a cow-shed in Nallicheri village. H.H. spoke in Sanskrit and Gandhiji in Hindi. In their hour-long dialogue, they both affirmed their faith in a State founded on belief in God and spiritual

power. The only point in which H.H. expressed his difference of opinion was on the question of Temple-entry by Harijans. A noteworthy thing that took place at this meeting of the two Mahatmas must be mentioned: It was getting to 5-30 P.M. and as Gandhiji did not take anything after 6 P.M., Rajaji came and reminded Gandhiji of the time. Gandhiji said: 'My conversation with Swamiji is my food today'. Swamiji gave Gandhiji a fruit which was with him and Gandhiji said it was a favourite fruit of his.

2—2—1928 Worshipped at Guruvāyūr shrine.

5—2—1928 ,, Vaḍakkunātha shrine, Trichur.

Visited the old Maṭhs of Śankara there, the Vaḍakke (North) and Tekke (South) Maṭhs and the Brahmasva Maṭh and examined the Sanskrit Mss. collections there.

Went to Cranganore for darśan of Bhagavatī.

19—3—1928 Reached Ernakulam; welcomed by the Royal house of Cochin; stayed at their headquarters, Tripunittura. Visited the Maharajah's Sanskrit College there.

April, 1928 Visited Vaikkam, Kottayam and Alleppey.

Returned to Tirukkuttrālam. Visited Bāṇatīrtha, the source of of Tāmraparṇī.

Then went to Nāgarkoil and reached Kanyākumārī. Toured Tirunelveli Dt.

The Maharajah of Mysore presented an elephant to H.H. The renowned musician Mazhavarāyanendal Subbarama Bhagavatar sang before H.H.

Reached Madurai.

The distinguished lawyer and statemen, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru called on H.H. and explained to H.H. the steps he was taking for an All-Parties' Conference in the situation created by British arrest of Gandhiji and other leaders.

Tour of the Madurai area. Invitation by the Zamindar of Ammaināyakkanūr for H.H. to perform *Navarātri Pūjā* there and gift to H. H. of 300 acres in Sirumalai.

Visit to and darśan at the great Subrahmanya Kṣetra, Palani.

1929 Returned to Tiruchi. Started on a tour of South Arcot District.

28—11—1929 Visit to his birth-place Viluppuram. A cowherd pressed H. H. to accept his present of the money he had by selling his small holding; H. H. received his homage but got him fresh land,

1929 December: Visit to Tiruvannamalai for Kārttika Dīpa-darśana.

Desiring to move along the beautiful course of the Cauvery river H. H. went along upto Hoganekal falls and returned to North Arcot District.

2—6—1930 Visit to the place of the great Sanskrit polymath Appayya Dīkṣitar, Aḍayappalam and to Dīkṣita's actual birth-place, Viriñcīpuram.

Tour in Chingleput District.

10—7—1930 Reception by Arni Zamindar.

25—12—1930 Reception by All-India Sadhu Mahasangha.

1931 January: Visit to Chingleput. It was here that the English writer Paul Brunton, who later wrote much on H. H. in his book '*Search in Secret India*' first saw H. H. It was on the suggestion of the Indo-Anglian writer K.S. Venkataramani of Madras who had himself written about H. H. that Brunton came to H. H. Venkataramani brought Brunton.

Brunton has recorded in his book that on his return to Madras, he had in the night, at 2-45 A.M., a distinct vision of H. H. in a bright spot of light.

25—1—1931 H. H.'s first visit to Kāñcī, the original headquarters of his Maṭh.

Ādi Śaṅkara defeated the Jains and Bauddhas here, consecrated the *Śrīcakra* before Kāmākṣī, mounted the *Sarvajña pīṭha* and attained *Siddhi* here itself according to local tradition; there is a Śaṅkara shrine here behind Kāmākṣī and in all temples in Kāñcī, there are carvings of Śaṅkara, as later H. H. showed through illustrated articles.

Visited Uttaramerūr and saw its famous historical inscriptions; toured Chingleput District and its sacred places.

Visit to Śrīperumbudūr, birth-place of Śrī Rāmānuja and reception at the temple there.

28—11—1931 Visit to Chittoor. *Vidvat Sadas* held here.

22—12—1931 Went to Vellore and then returned to Kāñcī. While at Arni en route, a batch of 200 Congress volunteers met H.H.

1932 March: Went via Tirupati to Kālahasti for *Śivarātri*. Received by the Rajah of Kālahasti.

April 1932 Visit to Tirupati; received with Temple honours. H.H. honoured Pandits.

21—4—1932 Went to Venkaṭagiri and was received there by the Rājā of Venkaṭagiri.

4—6—1932 Reached Kārveṭinagar and received there by the Rājā; H.H. honoured the Pandits there.

July Visit to Tiruttaṇi.

28—9—1932 Visit to Madras; grand reception; stayed in the Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore; the Corporation of Madras presented H.H. an Address; conducted the *Navarātripūjā*.

His Holiness gave a series of lectures every evening. These were collected and published in two Volumes, one of 50 lectures and another, lectures on *Śaṅkraravijaya*, by Sri R. Narayanaswami Iyer of M.L.J. Press. Another collection of 18 lectures, also published. All these have been republished by the *Kamakoti Kosa Sthanam*, B.G. Paul & Co., Madras-1. Visited several institutions in the city and environs.

Harijan leader M.C. Raja called and paid his respects. H.H. made a donation for the welfare of Harijans.

Conferred the following titles on distinguished persons in the city:

Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Sanskrit Professor, was given the title 'Darśana Kalānidhi'; T.R. Ramachandra Iyer, Advocate—'Dhārmika Dhurandhara'; K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer—'Dharma Rakṣāmaṇi' and A. Krishnaswami Iyer—'Paropakāra Cintāmaṇi'.

Advice to Brahmans living in the city, Teachers and Students.

Visited Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Temple.

Message to Madras citizens on the eve of his departure from the city.

Feb., 1933 Left for Kumbhakonam for the great *Mahāmagham* festival which comes once in 12 years and came off on 8th March, 1933. Renovation of the Maṭh at Kumbhakonam completed.

Opened the Raja Govinda Dikshitar Veda Pāṭhaśālā. Dedication to H.H. of Govinda Dikshitar's life written by Prof. N.K. Venkatesam Pantulu.

1933 *Sankara Jayanti* celebrated and *Vidvat-Sadas* held at Tiruviḍamarudūr.

Visit to Chidambaram and Sri Nataraja Shrine. Reception by the Dikshitas of the Temple.

Honour by a rich Muslim merchant of Porto Novo who had read under H.H.'s father.

Vyāsa Pūjā and *Navarātri* at Tanjore. Reception by the Tanjore Prince.

Sankara Maṭh opened at Tanjore.

Sep. 1933 Left Tanjore on the pilgrimage to Gangā and tour of north India which was to last 21 years.

24—1—1934 Reached Śrīśailam and worshipped Mallikārjuna and Bhramarāmbikā; met the Chenchu tribes of Śrīśailam.

12—3—1934 Visited Hyderabad; big reception by Citizens' Committee, by Maharajah Kishen Prasad and other dignitaries.

Inaugurated the Session of the Sanātana Sabhā held there at that time, stayed 40 days in Hyderabad and started on the Gangā-yātrā journey on 22—4—1934.

15—5—1934 Crossed the Godāvarī and reached Pentalwada in the then C.P. and celebrated Śankara Jayantī there.

5—6—1934 Reached Nagpur; received there by the Citizens' Reception Committee; completed in June the most arduous part of the journey, of crossing the Vindhya region, along with his retinue.

3—7—1934 Reached Jubbalpore and bathed in the holy Narmadā.

15—7—1934 Reached the State of Reeva.

23—7—1934 Arrived in Allahabad and was received by the Citizens' Committee headed by Mm. Dr. Ganganath Jha, Sri C.Y. Chintamani, Editor of the *Leader* and others.

25—7—1934 Bathed in holy Sangam.

1—9—1934 Held a big *Pandita Sadas* in Allahabad.

18—9—1934 Visited Bharadvājāśrama.

22—9—1934 Had *darśana* of *Akṣaya Vaṭa* (The holy Banyan) near the Sangam.

3—10—1934 Reached Banaras from Allahabad, doing the entire distance by foot.

Received at the city-limits by the Maharajah of Banaras, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, and a host of Pandits.

Visited the Temple and had *darśana* of Viśvanātha and Annapūrṇī.

His Holiness taken round in a huge procession.

Visited Sāngaveda Vidyālayā; bathed in Maṇikarṇikā; granted inteviews to and held discussions with the Maharajah of Benaras and Pt. M.M. Malavya; celebrated *Navarātri*.

19—10—1934 The Maharani of Darbhanga offered Bhikṣā to H.H.

27—10—1934 Bikshā from the Sannyāsins of N. India.

Visited the various Ghats.

19—12—1934 Visited Vyāsa Kāśī and Vyāsa Ghat on the opposite bank of Gangā.

Stayed at his own Maṭh at Hanuman Ghat.

9—2—1935 On the invitation of Pt. Malavya, visited the Banaras Hindu University; Malavyaji presented a Sanskrit Address to H.H. and H.H. replied and spoke in Sanskrit.

16—2—1935 Public reception and Sanskrit address at Sānga Veda Vidyālaya, with the Maharajah of Banaras present.

9—3—1935 Public Farewell meeting at Town Hall. Mm. Giridhara Sarma, Mm. Panchanan Tarkatirtha, Sri Devanathachar and other renowned Pandits spoke.

On the same day, a big Pandits' Conference was held on the subject of the Maṭhs established by Ādi Śankara; outstanding Pandits attended and attested with their signatures the authentic character of the Kānchi Kāmakoti Pīṭha.

130 Pandits of Bengal had met a few days before in Calcutta and signed a similar declaration.

11—3—1935 Reception and Bhikshā at Kāśi Brahmana Sabha and Varṇāśrama Svārājya Sangh.

18—3—1935 Reception at Banaras Hindu University by the South Indians under the lead of Prof. K.V. Rangaswami Aiyengar.

20—3—1935 H.H. left for Gaya.

2—4—1935 Reached Kastar Mahadev, a shrine where a large number of Sannyasins lived; Swami Karapatraji received H.H. on their behalf.

4—4—1935 Received by the Ruler of Surajpura State.

19—4—1935 Reception at Arrah by Mm. Pt. Sakal Narayana Sarma and Citizens. H.H. replied in Hindi as he did elsewhere in the local languages.

21—4—1935 Bathed in the Son.

24—4—1935 Reached Patna. Citizens' reception and Addresss in Sanskrit and Hindi on behalf of several Associations.

26—4—1935 A Pandita Mahasabha Address presented by the Patna Bihar Pandita Samaj; other receptions by Patna Hari Sabha etc.

26, 27-4-1935 Maharani of Adhva's receptions and Bhikshā.

Sankara Jayantī of the year conducted in the Palace of Adhva Maharajah in May. Maharaja of Tikkari bore the expenses. Rajendra Prasad paid, with his family, his respects to H.H.

11—5—1935 H.H. went to the Kshetra Harihar. Bathed in Gaṇḍakī.

20—5—1935 Reached Gaya, received by Tikkari Ruler and the Mahants and Purohits of Gaya.

Offered worship at Vishṇupada; stayed at Tikkari Maharajah's Palace.

Reception by Gaya Sanatana Dharma Sabha. Sri Chandeswar Prasad, Maharajah of Muksupur paid his respects to H.H.

25—5—1935 H.H. visited Buddha Gaya and was received by the Mahant; visited the Bodhi tree and other important objects of worship there including Buddha and the Śivalinga established by Ādi Śankara.

Crossed the Phalguni river and visited Dharmāraṇya.

4—6—1935 Visited Budholi, Tota and other places. Received by the Ruler of Gidhor (Gṛdhrakūṭa).

Visited Vaidyanāth Dhām or Deogar, seat of one of the 12 Jyotirlingas. Visited the Sanskrit College and the temple there.

13—7—1935 Reached Hoogly (Howrah). The public of Calcutta gathered and received H.H. there; grand procession into city.

Reception at All-India Varṇāśrama Svārājya Sangh.

Vyāsapūjā of the year conducted in Calcutta (at Kalighat).

19—7—1935 Visit to Devī Mandir of Damodara das Khanna; received there by Mr. Sitarama Sastri and other Pandits.

2—8—1935 *Pādapūjā* by Calcutta Temple Protection Sangha, Marwari Maha Sabha, and Visuddhananda Vidyalaya. Reception at the last with Sanskrit Address by Mm. Durgacharan.

7—8—1935 Public reception at the City Hall.

1—9—1935 Reception by Kali Temple authorities, Sanskrit Address read by 'Darsana Sagar' Pt. Gurupada Sarma Haldar. H.H. replied in Hindi and Bengali.

Bhikshā by leading citizens. Darsan of H.H. by Maharajah of Burdwan. Bhikshā by Mm. N.S. Anantakrishna Sastri, and other Pandits including the Principal of the Government Sanskrit College.

18—9—1935 Visit to Bhattapalli village; reception by Pandits there.

23—9—1935 Reception by Bengal Brahmana Sabha headed by Mm. Panchanan Tarka Ratna who had given up the title of 'Mm.' given by Government as a protest against the Sarada Bill.

Conducted the year's *Navarātri* in Calcutta.

Left Calcutta in the third week of September, crossed the river Damodar and Rupnarayan.

20—10—1935 Reached Golaghal. Poet and Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, Srī Jīva Nyāya Tīrtha accompanied H.H.

Visited the historical place Tāmralipti, one of the 64 Śakti-pīṭhas.

27—10—1935 Reached Midnapore. Gave darśan to the political prisoners in Midnapore Goal.

Crossed Kosa and Kapisa rivers and reached Karagpur and stayed there for a month at the request of the S.I. employees at the Railway Colony there.

5—12—1935 Reached Tatanagar after making halts at several small Zamindaris on the way; stayed there upto 27—1—1936 and visited the Steel Plant there.

Left Tatanagar and reached the State of Sereikila; received by the Ruler there. Visited several small States in this area.

23—2—1936	Reached Keonjar State.
1—3—1936	Entered Mayurbhanj State and Baripada its Capital on 7th March, 1936.
19—3—1936	Reached Sujangadh in Nilagiri State (there is a temple here to Devi seated on a Boar).
23—3—1936	At Kantabara in Balasur.
4—4—1936	Arrived in the holy pilgrim centre Jajpur on the banks of the Vaitaraṇī in Cuttack Dt.; the place is known as Virajapīṭha, one of the 18 Śaktipīṭhas.
15—4—1936	Crossed the Mahanadi and reached Cuttack. Visited Bhubaneswar and celebrated *Sankara Jayantī* and held a big *Vidvat Sadas* there.
4—5—1936	Received at the outskirts of Puri by the Ruler of Puri, the heads of the four Advaita Maṭhs at Puri, the Pandits of the Mukti Maṇḍapa Sabhā and others; was led in procession into the city; stayed in Govardhana Maṭh; visited Jagannāth shrine where he was received with Temple honours and presented with a Sanskrit Address at the Mukti Maṇḍapa.
7—5—1936	Visited Śankara Vidyā Pīṭha, Puri.
8—5—1936	Public Bhikṣā at the Palace of the Daspur Rajah.
9—5—1936	Conference of 100 Sanskrit Pandits; H. H. honoured them. [In 1886, H.H.'s predecessor Sri Mahādevendra Sarasvati had visited Puri.]
17—5—1936	Reached Chandrapur, headquarters of Ganjam Dt.
24—5—1936	Reached Berhampore; returned on 4th July, 1936, after visiting several places, to Berhampore.
4—7—1936	*Vyāsapūjā.* The Rajah of Parlakhimidi gave all facilities.
28—9—1936	Inaugurated the Sanatana Dharma Conference at Berhampore.
10—10—1936	Reached Chicacole and Śrīkūrma shrine; worshipped at the Sun Temple at Arasavalli.
12—10—1936	Reached Vijayanagaram. The Royal house had made elaborate arrangements for H.H.'s reception.
15—10—1936	Public reception to H.H. by Citizens' Committee. Celebrated the *Navarātri* at Vizianagaram.
25—10—1936	*Vidvat Sadas*, Mm. Tata Subbaraya Sastri honoured with title 'Śāstra Ratnākara'; visited Veda Vijñāna Parishad and honoured Pandits there.
27—10—1936	*Pādapūjā* at Palace by Dowager Maharani.
30—10—1936	Visited the Maharaja's College; was received by Prof. N. Venkataraman, author of the book 'Sankaracharya the Great and his Successors in Kanchi'.
31—10—1936	Veena Venkataramanadas gave a recital before H.H.

3—11—1936 After visit to some shrines on the way, reached Simhāchalam. Had darśan of Narasimha there and of Śiva at the nearby Tripurāntakeśvara.

6—11—1936 Public procession, bhikshā etc. at Simhāchalam.

7—11—1936 Arrived at Visakhapatnam; held a *Vidvat Sadas.*

3—12—1936 Left Vizag.

10—12—1936 Reached Anakapalli; received by the Vedula Dravida Brahmanas there and at the nearby Vedurparti.

21—12—1936 Camp at Ellamanchili; Pt. Rajeswar Sastri Dravid of Banaras called on H.H. here. Stayed here till 2-1-1937.

11—1—1937 At Tuni; reception by the Rajah of the place.

28—1—1937 Reached Pithapur; Pandits offered Bhikshā; *Pandita Sadas* held.

29—1—1937 At Kakinada; stayed here for a month; visited Bhimavaram, the shrine of one of the 12 Jyotir-lingas (Bhīmeśvara).

28—2—1937 Worshipped at the shrine in Koṭipalli on the Godavari; visited the Agrahāras in Koṇasīma in the delta of East Godavari.

14—4—1937 Celebrated *Śankara Jayantī* at Mukhamala in the above region and held a *Pandita Sabhā.*

23—7—1937 Celebrated *Vyāsapūjā* at Palakole in the same area and stayed on till September 20th.

Celebrated *Navarātri* at Hukkampettah.

1—9—1937 Arrived in Rajahmundry. Visited Akhanda Godavari and worshipped at Mahānandīśvar Shrine.

31—1—1938 Reached Kakinada for Mahodaya bath in the sea.

March, 1938 Reached the banks of Krishna.

30—4—1938 to 4-5-1938 } *Śankara Jayantī* in Bhīmavaram. Visited Vijayawada and Mangalagiri.

Visited the Sanskrit College in Kovūr.

Reached Guntur for *Cāturmāsya.*

12—7—1938 Celebrated *Vyāsapūjā* at Guntur and conducted *Vidvat Sadas* daily for two months.

Pulyam Umamahesvara Sastri, Secretary of All-Andhra Dhārmika Parishad and a great grammarian, composed on H.H. 170 verses.

Left Guntur and reached Markāpūr in Kurnool Dt. and celebrated *Navarātri* there.

Nov., Dec. 1938 & Jan 1939 } Camped in Nellore.

6—2—1938 Left Nellore.

12—3—193 to 25-3-1938 } Camped at Venkatagiri at the request of the Rajah.

7—4—1939- } Camped at Kālahasti.
17—4—1939 }

19, 20—4—1939 Went to Tirupati.

24—4—1939 Celebrated *Śankara Jayantī* at Bugga (water-falls) near Nagari.

30—4—1939 Visited Tiruttani shrine.

2—5—1939 Reached Kanchipuram

17—5—1939 Reached Chidambaram

10—6—1939 Reached Ramesvaram for the Abhisheka of Rāmanātha Linga with the Gangā-tīrtha brought by him, and thus completed his Setu-Gangā Yātrā.

Took next day the vow of silence and returned fast to Kumbhakonam for *Vyāsapūjā*.

13—6—1939 Reception with procession etc. *en route* by the Raja of Ramnad.

15—6—1939 Similar reception by the Rajah of Śivagangā.

19—6—1939 Reception by the Rajah of Pudukottah.

23—6—1939 Reached Tiruchi and his own Math at Tiruvānaikkā.

29—6—1939 Reached Kumbhakonam and concluded successfully the 21 years' Vijaya-yātrā of Bhāratavarsha.

30—6—1939 Started on his *Vyāsapūja*, which was attended by a large number of Sanskrit Pandits from all over South India.

From end of 1939 through 1940—42 Intensive tour of villages of Tanjore, Tiruchi, Pudukottah and adjacent areas for organising the *Mudrādhikāris*' scheme. In each village or part of a town or major street of a city, a *Mudrādhikāri* or a representative of the Math was appointed. The ideals of the Sangham or Association of these *Mudrādhikāris* included social service, fostering temple-worship, care of cows, sacred tress and holy waters, reading of Purāṇas, etc. Over 2000 of these units were established.

19—7—1940 Celebrated *Vyāsapūjā* at Tuvarankurichi near Pattukkottai.

4—6—1941 Conducted the Kumbhābhishekam of Bangāru Kāmākshi Temple at Tanjore.

8—7—1941 *Vyāsapūjā* at Nagapattanam and *Navarātri* at Ālankāḍu near Muttuppeṭṭai.

April, 1942 Had an *Atirudra yāga* conducted at the request of the Rajah of Venkatagiri at Poovanoor near Mannargudi; 121 vaidikas participated in this.

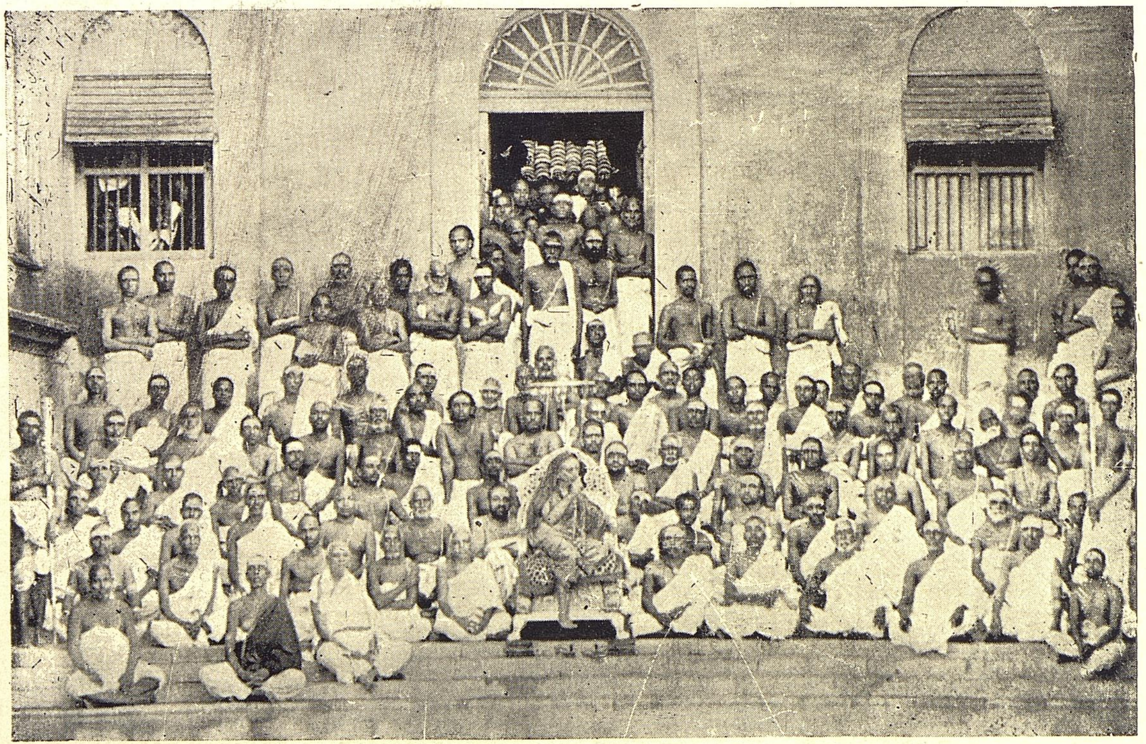
June, 1942 Toured Pudukottah State and worshipped at a number of hill-shrines there.

July, 15th, 19th Stayed in Udayārpālayam at the request of the Zamindar.

27—7—1942 *Vyāsapūjā* at Nattam near Kāṭṭupputtūr on the Kaveri. Conducted an *Atirudra yāga* in which 121 Ṛtviks and another 200 Vaidikas for pārāyaṇa participated; the expenses were borne by the Nangavaram Estate and the Zamindars of Kāṭṭupputtūr and Chūṇāmpet.

27—11—1942	Stayed in Nangavaram Estate. Participated in the anniversary of the Pazhuvoor Vedānta Pāṭhaśāla.
Jan., March, 1943	Pilgrimages to shrines on either side of Akhaṇḍa Kāverī.
26—3—1943	Visit to Nāmakkal hill-shrines.
13—6—1943	Renovated an old Panchamukha Śivalinga temple called Rājarājeśvaram near Tiruvānaikkā Sankara Maṭh. Elected a Namboodri Brahman for conducting worship at the Badarināth Temple at the request of the Ruler o Tehri.
May to Oct. 1943	Stayed at his Math at Tiruvanaikka; *Vyāsapūjā* and *Navarātri* celebrated here. Annual meeting of the *Mudrā thikāris* also held here; over 1000 of them from Tanjore Dt. and neighbouring areas attended; left for Tanjore. En route, at Ranganathapuram, Vidvan Ve. Muttuswami Iyer who was honoured by H.H. with the title 'Dravida Kavi-*Mani*' sang Tamil verses composed by him on H.H.
11—12—1943	Reached Kumbhakonam but was constantly on move in Tanjore villages. Had a Śiva temple near Tiruvidamarudur on the Vira-cholan renovated by the late Sri D. Balasubrahmania Iyer of B.G. Paul & Co., Madras and its Kumbhabhishekam peformed.
January, 1944	Left Kumbhakonam for Kanchipuram for renovation and Kumbhabhishekam of Kamakshi temple at Kanchi, which belonged to the Kamakoti Math itself.
7—2—1944	Kumbhabhishekam of Kamakshi temple celebrated on a grand scale with representatives from several Devasthanams, Maths, Estates etc., attending and participating. *Kamokoti Kosasthanam*, a Publication Trust founded by B.G. Paul & Co., for bringing out stotras with translations, brought out the celebrated hymn on Kamakshi, *Mūk pañcaśati*, for the occasion.
23—3—1944	Stopped at Anbil, four miles from Kāñcī, the old Ambikāpura, figuring in the 11th cent. grant to Kamakoti Math by king Vijayaganda Gopala, and edited by T.A. Gopinatha Rao in the Volume on the Copper-plate Grants of the Kāñcī Kāmakoti Math.
11—5—1944	Went to Mahendravāḍī, 25 miles off. Then toured in Chinglepet and N. Arcot Dts.
End of May, 1944	Gave darsan and prasada and conversed with a large body of Harijans who gathered to pay their respects to H.H.

2—6—1944	Reached Nārāyaṇavana, near Nagari, in Chittoor Dt. Reached then 'Kailasakonai', a quiet beautiful site of a small perennial water-fall. Having first heard of this site from H.H. I have since been visiting it often during journeys to Tirupati. Visited the hill Rāmagiri and then the shrine Nāgalā-puram.
1944	A red-letter day in the annals of H.H.s' efforts to preserve and continue the traditions of Veda and Dharma Śāstra. A Society called the *Veda Dharma Paripālana Sabha* was duly registered and endowed adequately by the *Kalavai Brindavana Trust* named after H.H.'s grand-preceptor, for the conduct of examinations in Veda and the presentation to the best candidate of a large capital endowment for sustaining him in his Vedic career.
7—7—1944	*Vyāsapūja* at Iśayanūr near Kāveripākkam. Visited Kalavai, 6 miles from here where there are the Samadhis of H.H.'s Guru and Paramaguru.
29—11—1944	Visited Tiruvaṇṇāmalai for Kārttikai Dīpa festival.
15—12—1944	Went up the hill-shrine at Kaḍalāḍi, a veritable replica of the great Śrīśailam.
24—1—1945	Reached Krishnagiri in Salem Dt.
February, 1945	Ten days' stay in Salem.
22—2—1954	Reached Kumbhakonam for the Mahāmagham festival. Grand reception at Kumbhakonam.
26—2—1945	H.H. went through the streets in procession and bathed in the sacred Mahāmagham tank. Established as part of the *Mudrādhikāri* organisation, the *Śri Matham Dharma Service Sabha* and arranged for the distribution of pamphlets and *dharma-prasāda* to invalids in hospitals etc. through this Sabha.
28—2—1945	Celebration for 10 days of the Golden Jubilee of the *Advaita Sabhā* of the Math. The Sabhā was started in 1894 during the time of the 66th Acharya of Kamakoti Pitha, Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati. Among the founder-members of the Sabha were outstanding pandits of the time, Mm. Mannargudi Raju Sastrigal, Mm. Tiruvayyaru Balakrishna Sastrigal, Mm. Chidambaram Harihara Sastrigal, etc. Among the distinguished members of the next generation were the five 'Mms.', Painganadu Ganapati Sastrigal, Tiruvisanallur Venkatasubba Sastrigal, Chidambaram Dandapaniswami Dikshitar,



1945: Golden Jubilee of the Advaita Sabhā at Kumbhakonam. H.H. with the Pandit-participants

3-6-1952 : His Holiness and the Head of the Dharmapuram Math

Karumkulam Krishna Sastrigal, and Mannargudi Yajnaswami Sastrigal.

The distinguished Prof. K. Sundararama Iyer was Secretary of the Sabha for several years.

Gold rings with image of Adi Sankara were presented to the 100 and more pandits gathered at the Golden Jubilee of the Sabha.

24—7—1945 *Vyāsapūjā* and *Navarātri* at Tirukkarukāvūr.

5—2—1946 H.H. ordered in his message to his *Mudrādhikāris* that they should arrange to send proper persons at the time of death to all persons, particularly the poor folk, and have the Lord's Names recited into their ears while there was yet life.

Released another message with reference to the communal riot in Bengal and on the forcible conversion of Hindus to Islam and violation of Hindu women by Muslims; H. H. directed that those forcibly converted or violated be taken back and honourably received with due expiatory rites.

H.H. also sent relief in money and material to these riot-torn areas.

14—7—1946 *Vyāsapūjā* at H.H.'s own Math at Kumbhakonam; 4 months' stay of H.H. here.

January, 1947 Addressed the *Ayyavayyar Vedanta Pathasala* Annual meeting on the need to revive ancient arts and learning. H.H. spoke on the spread of Indian Culture in foreign countries in the past.

At H.H.'s instance, Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer collected funds and with matching contribution from the Math, H.H. constructed a silver chairiot (*Ratha*) for Goddess Kamakshi, together with a pavilion to station it, at a cost of Rs. 85,000.

16—2—1947 First run of the above silver chariot with idol of Kamakshi through the main streets of Kanchi. H.H. was present, as also the Sankaracharya of Puri, Sri Bharatitirtha, who came from Madras, witneessed the procession of the Silver *Ratha* and had discussion with H.H. on problems of propagation of Hinduism.

Śivarātri celebrated at Vasanta Krishnapuram.

26—4—1947 *Śankarajayanti* at Iśayanūr in N. Arcot.

3—7—1947 *Vyāsapūjā* at Vasanta Krishnāpuram near Triukkoyilūr.

15—8—1947 Gave the Independence Day message to the people of India that they should pray for greater spiritual strength

and soul power to safegaurd the freedom that had been got. Toured S. Arcot Dt. for the whole year.

30—1—1948 Mahatma Gandhi's death. H.H. gave a message to the Press expressing his grief at the tragedy; referred to the meetings he and Mahatmaji had on 1927, to the latter's great faith in Rāma-nāma and called upon people to pray for the peace of Gandhiji's soul.

9—2—1948 *Mahodaya* day and bath at the sangam of the Southern Pennai and the sea near Tiruppātirippuliyūr.

Śankarajayanti, *Vyāsapūjā* and *Navarātri* at Venkaṭādri Agaram near Viluppuram, visited often the 'Adhiṣṭhāna' of the 58th Pontiff of the Math, Sri Ātmabodhendra Sarasvati at Vaḍavāmbalam, three miles from Venkatadri Agaram.

1948, latter part: stayed at Kuttalam and every day visited Māyūram for *Tulāsnāna* at dawn in the sacred Kāverī.

C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar had discussions with H.H. on the propagation of religion and Sanskrit.

6, 7, 8—11—1948 *Mudrādhikāris'* conference at Kuttalam and stock-taking of the work by checking ever day with about 300 of them. Visited Māyūram for *Tulā-Kāverī-snāna*

4—12—1948 Conferred the Title of 'Darśana Kalānidhi' on His Highness Rama Varma Parikshit Tampuran, Maharajah of Cochin, who was a great Sanskrit scholar and master of Nyāya Śāstra. The function was held at the Durbar Hall at the Palace in Ernakulam with a large and distingguished audience including some from Madras. H.H.'s Srīmukham conferring the title was presented to the Maharajah by the Hon. S. Panchapagesa Sastri, Judge of the Madras High Court at that time.

I was one of those from Madras who attended the function.

1949 Stayed mostly in Tiruvidaimarudur where Mrs. Sundarambal, wife Sri. D. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar of B.G. Paul & Co., had gifted their ancestral house and garden to the Math.

In 1955, Mrs. Sundarambal purchased the adjacent house and garden and gave them to the Math for running there a Veda-Śāstra Pāṭhaśālā.

H.H. spent nearly three years at this place.

16-26 Feb. 1949 Conducted an *Atirudra Homa* at an expense of Rs. 25,000 at this place.

Started a new interesting test in Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, in respect of its *Pada*-recitation and gave prizes to the

successful Vedic pandits; afterwards this test called *Kālvaitta vāram* became popular and was held often and at numerous places.

Conducted also tests for *Varṇa* and *Krama* recitations.

Visit of Swami Karapatraji of North India, President of *Rāmarājya Pariṣad* and discussed matters relating to the Hindu Code Bill and the need for rallying the people having faith in Sanatana Dharma.

Śankara Jayanti, *Cāturmāsya* and *Navarātri*, all conducted at Tiruviḍaimarudūr.

Honoured the distinguished Tamil Vidvan, Mm. Raghava Iyengar of Ramanathapuram.

1950 *Cāturmsāya* at the famous village of Tiruviśanallūr given by King Shahaji to Sanskrit Pandits, and the home of great souls like Ś īdhara Venkaṭeśa Ayyāvāl, and Sadāśiva Brahmendra.

Two miles off from Tiruviḍaimarudū is Govindapuram where there is the Adhiṣṭhāna of the 59th Ācārya of the Math, Sri Bodhendra Sarasvati, renowned for his propagation of the cult of reciting Lord's Name and hence known as 'Bhagavan-nāma-Bodhendra'. H.H. often visited the Adhiṣṭhāna at Govindapura.

H.H. advised people to write out Rāma-nāma every day and bring or send the Note-books to the Math, and gave or sent prasāda to the devotees who write Rāma-nāma. This continues to this day.

25—12—1950 H.H. gave a message on the importance of the recital and exposition in Mārgaśīrṣa month of the two hymns of Āṇḍāl and Māṇikkavācakar, the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva Saints the *Tiruppāvai* and the *Tiruvempāvai*. Held a big *Tiruppāvai-Tiruvempāvai* conference for eight days. These Conferences for their recital and exposition of these two hymns caught the hearts of the people and became most popular all over the Tamil Country. The Tamil Śaiva Maths of Tamil Nadu co-operated with H.H. in this movement. Almost all the leading Tamil scholars, Bhāgavatas and religious leaders have been taking part in these conferences. The movement helped to bring on the common platform of Bhakti the Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas. The printing of these two poems, getting them by heart, their translations and setting them to tunes, singing them and gramophone records of these, all increased as a result of this movement. A central organisation was also set up for this and registered. In this connection H.H. drew public attention to the most

intresting fact that the Tiruvempāvai festival was being held every year, to this day, at Bangkok, in Thailand. Select psalms from Devāram and Tiruvāimoḻi were printed and sent to over four lakhs of Tamil-speaking people in India, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya etc.

Sent *Śrīmukhas* and circulars on the need for religious practices to legislators, Congress-members, temple- authorities, school-managements, etc. and also distributed pamphlets to the large gatherings during temple-festivals in various centres. Free copies of *Tiruppāvai-Tiruvembāvai* distributed by thousands to boys and girls; similarly copies of *Bhaja Govindam*, epitome of *Bhāgavata*, Avvaiyār's *Vināyakar Ahaval*, *Tirumuruhāttruppaḍai* etc.

Started 130 associations called *Vāra Vaḻipāḍu Sangam* for doing devotional recitations etc.

Adopted steps for popularisation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Sanskrit, Tamil or Hindi.

Presented Rudrākṣa-mālās to devotees.

Intense tour of Tanjore Dt. for propagations of the above for three years (1950-52).

1951 *Sankara Jayanti* at Semmangudi. Golden Todas presented to 100 Vedic pandits, from all parts of India.

Vyāsapūjā and *Cāturmāsya* at Muḍikondān. *Navarātri* at Rudragangā. *Tulā-Kaveri* bath at Māyūram.

1952 *Vyāsapūjā* and *Cāturmāsya* at Śāttanūr.

Homas with *Puruṣa Sūkta*, *Śrī Sūkta*, *Rudra* etc. at Āruḷādi. Broadcast a special message on the greatness of *Rāma Nāma*.

23— 2—1952 *Śivarātri-pūjā* at Nāgangudi near Māyūram.

29— 4—1952 *Sankara Jayanti* at Ānatāndavapuram.

3— 6—1952 Invited by the Head of the Dharmapuram Adhinam; visited that Math and was given a grand reception there; stayed three days there.

Initiated a chain of public activity under the *Mudrādhikāri* programme for digging temple-tanks. In some places, e.g. the tank in Porayūr was dug up by a vast enthusiastic collection of volunteers in one day.

August, Sept. 1952 Made announcements on Thursdays in newspapers, exhorting people not to take coffee, school-boys and girls not to see non-educational films, and ladies not to go in for costly sarees.

29—8—1952 Popularised the musical hymn on Śiva's Tāṇḍava dance, *Śambhu-naṭana-stotra*; the musical setting was given by the musician Sri Vanchyam Ramachandra Iyer.

Jan.—June, 1953 Started an Association for providing funeral arrangements for the dead bodies of destitute Hindus.

March, 1953 At the request of Sri R. Govindaswami Mooppanar of Kapisthalam, stayed at his place for fifteen days; conducted *Vasanta Navarātri* there.

May, 1952 Sri Arunachala Desikar, Head of the Kunrakkudi Math met H.H. and discussed matters relating to propagation of religion.

March, 1953 Continued his stay at Kapisthalam.

16th-24th March, 1953 *Vasanta Navarātri* at Kapisthalam. It was at this time, on the eve of my tour of Europe, I had darsan of H.H. at one of H.H.'s campus on the banks of Cauvery and submitted to H.H. the manuscript of my Sanskrit *Mahākāvya* on Sri Muttuswāmi Dīkṣita for H.H.'s perusal, and in appreciation of which H.H. later blessed me with the title *Kavi-Kokila.*

Sankara Jayanti of the year at Oḻuguceri in Kumbhakonam Taluq.

22nd July, 1953 26th July Reached Kāñcīpuram for *Vyāsapūjā*. H.H.'s first *Vyāsapūjā* at H.H.'s own Math at Little Kāñcīpuram. Entered on severe austerities including *Maunam* and *Upavāsam*, silence and fasting.

A Burmese Buddhist millionaire came and had darsan of H.H.

1953 *Cāturmāsya*; sent round a *Śrīmukha* that Pandits should do *pārāyaṇa* of the 10 *Upaniṣads* and as for as possible expound them to the public.

The leading Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher, Sri Prativādibhayankaram Annangaracharya started this *Pārāyaṇa-pravacanas* of the *Upaniṣads* at Nampillai shrine; H. H. attended the same; Sri Annangaracharya gave a reception to H.H.

19th, 22nd March, 1954 CHOICE OF H.H.'S SUCCESSOR: Ordination of Sannyāsa on the young 19-year old Brahmacārin Subrahmanya, son of Mahadeva Iyer, whom H. H. selected as most suitable for being H. H.'s successor on the *Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha*. The administering of the *āśrama* took place in Kāñcī in the midst of a large congregation of devotees and a series of impressive acts, including visits to the *samādhis* of three previous incumbents near by, worship to the image of Śri Sureśvara,

pupil of Ādi Śaṅkara, the founder of the *Kāmakoṭi pīṭha* and worship at the shrines of Kāmākṣī and Ādi Śaṅkara. The actual site of initiation was conducted at the *Mukti Maṇḍapa* on the banks of *Sarva Tīrtha* tank. H. H. did the *Upadeśa* of the *Mahāvākyas* to his disciple and successor who was given the name JAYENDRA SARASVATI. On the previous night, at their Math at Little Kāñcīpuram, H. H. gave discourse on the importance and significance of the momentous event of next day and exhorted the devotees to observe their *dharmas* and their duty by the Math.

18—5—1954 THE ṢAṢTYABDAPŪRTI OF H. H.

H. H.'s 61st Birth Day was celebrated in a grand manner; H. H. stayed and conducted the pūjā at the nearby village of *Orikkai* on the Pālār river. H. H. appealed to the vast congregation that had gathered to have his darsan that the best way to celebrate his 61st Birthday was to do their duty by their religion and *dharma* and called upon those who had landed property to give some land for carrying on such religious work. Many immediately offered lands and a committee was formed with Sri Ratnasabhapati Chettiar of Chidambaram as Managing Trustee.

A new edition of the *Brahma Sūtra* with *Śaṅkara-bhāṣya* brought out for the occasion by the *Kamakoti Kosasthanam* was offered to H. H.

The event was celebrated also in Madras and other places. At H. H.'s Math at Kumbhakonam, it was celebrated in an impressive manner with Sri N. Raghunatha Aiyar of the *Hindu*, Agnihotram Ramanuja Tatachariar and Prof. Dr. A. Sankaran and others participating. At Tiruchi, the *Advaita Sabha* celebrated the event under the lead of Sri A. V. Gopalachariar. Tanjore also organized a fitting celebration at the Śaṅkara Math there. At Chidambaram, the Dikshitars of Sri Nataraja temple, the Professors of the Annamalai University and members of the public met at M. S. Pathasala and celebrated the event. Other centres which held celebrations are Pudukottai, Pondicherry, Nagapattinam etc.

July 1954 Prof. Howard Conn of U. S. called on H. H.

23—1—1955 H. H. called at Kanchi a *Sadas* of Vedic scholars representing all the Vedas.

H. H. giving interview at Kāñcī to
Prof. Milton Singer of the University of Chicago, U. S.
October, 1955

1956: Kanakābhiṣeka of H. H. by H.H. Jayendra Sarasvati, Successor-Designate

15—2—1955	H. H. Jeeyar of Vanamamalai Vaishnava Math met H. H. and discussed for an hour matters relating to propagation of *Dharma.*
15—6—1955	H. H. called at Kanchi a *Sadas* of scholars in different *Śāstras.* 50 scholars from all over India attended the *Sadas.*
25—7—1955	Sri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras, paid his respects to H. H. and discussed several questions.
October, 1955	Prof. Milton Singer, Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago, U. S., who was studying the Bhakti movement in Madras with my assistance, had an interview with H. H. at Kanchi.
18—3—1956 } 25—3—1956 }	The Diamond Jubilee of the *Advaita Sabhā.* This was celebrated on a large scale at the shrine *Sivāsthānam* near Kāñcī. H. H. inaugurated the Session. H. H. Vidyamanyatirtha Svami of the Mādhva Math of Bhandarikare met H. H. during the session and gave a talk on *Dvaita Siddhānta.* Special presents and honours were given to Advaita Pandits. A Diamond Jubilee Souvenir giving the history and achievement of the *Advaita Sabhā* was brought out.
7—6—1956	Historic meeting of Sri Vinoba Bhave with H.H. (For a report of the talk between the two, the *Kalki* issue of 1-7-56 may be seen).
7—2—1957	The Sanskrit Commission appointed by Government of India of which Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of Calcutta was Chairman and Dr. V. Raghavan, a Member, called on H. H. at Kanchi and had the benefit of the views of H.H.
February, 1957	Visit to and worship at *Kalavai* village in North Arcot District where H. H.'s teacher and grand-teacher, the 66th and 67th Pontiffs of the Kamakoti Pitha had their *Samādhis.*

Some Sanskrit scholars blessed by H. H. with special honours and titles:

1. Māyūram Sivaramakrishna Sastrigal, exponent of *Srīmad Bhāgavata.*
2. Sengalipuram Anantarama Dikshitar, exponent of *Rāmāyaṇa.*
3. Srivatsa Somadeva Sarma, Madras, exponent of Purāṇas.
4. Agnihotram Ramanuja Tatachariar, Kumbhakonam, exponent of Vedas.

5. Sri Anjaneyar (now Sri Anantanandendra Sarasvati) who has been staying with H. H. and serving the Math, after his retirement.

Several Tamil scholars and exponents of Tamil religious classics were also honoured.

Among writers honoured are to be mentioned K. S. Venkataramani and Dr. V. Raghavan; among artists and teachers of arts, Bharatam Nallur Narayanaswami Iyer was given the title 'Tāṇḍava Paṇḍita'.

The Math has collections of printed books and manuscripts in Kumbhakonam and other centres.

A brief account may now be given of some of the organisations set up at the instance or under the inspiration of His Holiness to carry out his teachings and instructions:

The Kāmakoṭi Kośasthānam, a foundation for publishing Stotras with translations was endowed by D. Balasubrahmanya Iyer of B.G. Paul & Co. in 1942. It is being looked after now by Sri K. Nilakanthan of the same Company.

Kalavai Trust Established in memory of H.H.'s grand preceptor; has an endowment of Rs. one lakh and five *velis* of land; conducts the *Vedapāṭhaśālā* for *Ṛk* and *Yajus* at Tiruviḍaimarudūr. The students are given monthly stipends.

The Ṣaṣṭyabdapūrti Trust On the occasion of the *Ṣaṣṭyabdapūrti* of H. H. in 1954, celebrated on a grand scale at Śivāsthānam at Kāñcī, the above Trust was founded with liberal donations of land and cash (Rs. 1,20,000). Out of this Trust, the Math conducts Vedic classes, giving each young student a monthly stipend, maintains Vedic teachers, and holds every six months examinations for which about Rs. 15,000 are spent. Besides, those who complete a course in *Vedabhāṣya* get a gift of Rs. 7000, Rs. 5000 and Rs. 3000 to help them to start their career as Vedic teachers.

Veda, Śāstra and Sanskrit Schools of the Math are being conducted at Kumbhakonam, Kāñcī, Tiruviḍaimarudūr, Tanjore, Tiruchi (Jambukeśvaram), Kāśī etc.

In addition to the above, more recently, several other activities and institutions have been started. Some of them may be mentioned.

Sanskrit Oriental High Schools have been started by the Math at different centres. Indirectly, by visits and advice, H. H. has been responsible for the starting of many *schools for Vedas* etc. by the voluntary efforts of devotees.

The Amarabhāratī Parīkṣā Samiti (Reg.), West Tank Square, Tiruvānmiyūr, Madras.

Started in 1955. Promotes the learning of Sanskrit by boys and girls through classes conducted outside school-hours; holds graded annual examinations and awards certificates and medals; supplies graded text-books; has centres outside Tamil Nadu also. The grades are from Ist to VIth and grades corresponding to S.S.L.C., P.U.C., and Central School Xth Standard. Nearly 1800 students sit annually for these examinations. (President: Dr. V. Raghavan; Secretaries: T. Vaidyanathan and P. Mahadeva Aiyer).

The Sanskrit Education Society, Madras-4.

A Sanskrit Gurukulam and Centre of advanced study of Sanskrit, Research and Publication founded at the time of the Golden Jubilees of H.H.'s ascension to the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha, located at Peṭṭai, near Madras, in a large site donated for the purpose by Sri Varadappan; inaugurated in 1959 by H. H. who had earlier given to the Society Rs. 10,000 on the occasion of his Kanakābhiṣeka on 9th March, 1958 in Madras; Founder-President: Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar; Secretary-Treasurer: T. V. Viswanatha Aiyar; present President: N. Raghunatha Iyer; has research-publication programmes under the guidance of Dr. V. Raghavan. Has so far published 9 works.

The Āgama Śilpa Bhārata Kalādi Vidvat Sadas.

H.H. conceived of a new annual Conference for inculcating values of Hindu Dharma through the time-honoured means of literature, folk arts and fine arts and the temples. The first of these was organised in 1962 on a grand scale for a week beginning with 13th September, 1962 at H.H.'s Camp at Ilayāttangudi in Chettinad, where there is the *Samādhi* of H.H.'s great grand-preceptor and predecessor. H.H. had commanded Dr. V. Raghavan and Sri Sa. Ganesan, M.L.A. to steer the daily programme of the Conference. For the first time, Śivācāryas versed in *Śaiva Āgamas*, Bhaṭṭācāryas versed in *Pāñcarātra* and *Vaikhānasa Āgamas* came in large numbers and from all parts of Tamil Nadu and discussed about the *Āgamas* and temple-practices. For the first time again, traditional *Sthapatis* who built the temples and temple-cars gathered in large numbers and discussed *Śilpa* texts and temple architecture and sculpture and the building of temple-cars,

Scholars came from all over India and spoke on different aspects of Indian culture, on the Epics and their versions in regional languages, on Indian culture in countries outside India, Tibet, Central Asia, and S. E. Asia. Among these were H. E. Sukich Nimman Hemindo, Thai Ambassador in Delhi, Lamas from Tibet, Tantra-experts from Assam, Dr. Raghuvira, Dr. Filliozat from France and Dr. Daniel Smith from U.S.

There were the usual *Sadas* of Sanskrit Pandits on *Advaita* and other *Śāstras* and a meeting of Vedic scholars. There was an exhibition of Indian art in India and S.E. Asia and of Indian music instruments.

In the nights there were demonstrations of folk arts, dance-dramas like *Yakṣagāna*, *Bhāgavatanāṭaka* and forms of similar arts from Kerala, Tamil expositions of the Epics etc.

The proceedings of the *Sadas* were later published in 1963, with numerous illustrations.

H.H. had, later, a registered body set up to maintain this *Sadas* year after year.

The IInd *Āgama Śilpa Sadas* was held, in as big a manner as the first one, at Nārāyaṇavaram near Madurai in 1963. It was inaugurated by H.H. on 17th August, 1963 and went on for a week. The Hindu Religious Endowments Department of the Government of Madras and the Chief Commissioner, Sri M. S. Sarangapani Mudaliar and the Hon. Minister in charge of Endowments, Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam, took interest in this and the Executive Officers of *Devasthānams* were given leave to attend the *Sadas* and benefit by the discussions and discourses on the Temples. Dr. Filliozat, Prof. H. Nakamura from Tokyo and anothor young Japanese scholar Dr. Mayeda working in U.S. attended the *Sadas*. The souvenir of this Session was also brought out later.

The IIIrd *Sadas* was held in Kanchipuram from 21-9-64 to 27-9-64. It was inaugurated by His Highness Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiar, Maharajah of Mysore and Governor of Madras, and was attended by a large number of *Sivācāryas*, *Bhaṭṭācāryas*, *Sthapatis* and Research scholars including Miss Alice Boner. The same pattern of discussions in the morning, lectures in the evenings and presentation of arts in the nights was followed. The Souvenir of this *Sadas* was later published,

The IVth *Sadas* was organised in Madras in 1965 from 13-12-65 to 17-12-65 in the newly constructed Kapālīśvara Kalyāṇa Mandapam. There was a special session for discussing the *Pañcāṅga* (Calender), and the *Dṛk* and *Vākya* systems; Dr. Lahiri, associated with the Calender Reform Committee and its publications, participated. The Souvenir of this session has been brought out.

The Vth *Sadas* was held at Kālahasti, in Andhra Pradesh from 2-9-66 to 8-9-66. The Souvenir of this *Sadas* has been printed.

The VIth *Sadas* was organised from 2nd to 6th September, 1967 at Rajahmundry in Andhra Pradesh. The Souvenir of this session was published.

The VIIth *Sadas* was conducted from 20th August to 2nd September, 1968 at Secunderabad, Andhra Pradesh. It was inaugurated by Sri Khandubhai Desai, Governor of Andhra Pradesh. The Souvenir of this *Sadas* has been brought out.

The VIIIth was held in Kanchipuram from 21st to 24th September, 1969. The Souvenir of this *Sadas* has been brought out.

The IXth *Sadas* was held in Kanchipuram from 6th to 9th September, 1970. The Souvenir of this Session has been published.

Oriental Cultural Education Society.

Established under the Vyāsa Bhārata Kalā Sadas; conducts the Śrī Śaṅkara School, Madras, started on 21st June, 1970.

Vedic Sarvaśākhā Sammelanas.

Gatherings of representatives of all the *Śākhās* of all the Vedas, as current now in different parts of India, were conducted under the aegis of H.H. from time to time at different centres. *Pārāyaṇa* of the *Śākhās* and lectures form part of these conventions. The first of these was held in Delhi in 1962 in which Central Ministers participated; the second was held in the Śiva-Viṣṇu Temple, Madras-17 in 1965 and His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, Governor of Madras, visited the session. The third was conducted at Tirupati on the Hills, in 1966; the fourth at Vijayawada (A.P.) in 1968 (October 11th-14th) at which Rājaguru Vāmadevamuni

of Thailand was present (Souvenir of the last was published).

The Veda Pārāyaṇa Sabhā, Sankara Math, West Mambalam, Madras-17.

Started in 1960; conducts annual Vedic *Sadas*, *homas* and popular lectures and publishes selections from Vedas useful for daily rites etc.

Srī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Sevā Samājam, Madras.

Published the Souvenir of the celebration of H.H.'s *Jayanti* at His Holiness' birth-place in Viluppuram, 1969. The old house of H.H.'s *avatāra* has been built as a large commemorative building to house a Veda Pathasala and an Oriental High School, with quarters for Pandits; all these activities are being looking after by donations and Trusts like the Sri Appayya Dikshitar Trust of M. Nilakanthan & Bros.

Association for Hindu Dharma, Madras (1/23, Ramaswami Street, Madras-7).

Started under the inspiration of H.H. and works under his advice and guidance.

Srī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Sevā Samiti, Bangalore, 1966.

In 1968, they built a Math for Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha in Malleswaram and published a Souvenir. In 1971 H.H. the Junior Acharya Sri Jayendra Saraswati stayed in this Math and conducted a *Sadas* during his tour of Mysore.

The Sankara Bhakta Sabha, (Kowtha Kamakoti Kalyana Nilayam, 10, Padma Rao Nagar, Secunderabad-25, A.P.)

Celebrates *Sankara Jayanti* and promotes religious activities; has sponsored publications on Hinduism, Advaita and Kāñci Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha, and Souvenirs on these subjects and containing also select stotras with translations.

The Sankara Academy of Sanskrit Culture and Classical Arts, New Delhi.

Started under the inspiration of His Holiness. Celebrates annually the *Sankara Jayanti* and other *ad hoc* activities for *Dharma-pracāra*. Publishes an annual illustrated Souvenir containing articles in Sanskrit, Hindi and English on Sankara, Advaita, Hindu Dharma and Art.

The Jai Sankara Sevā Samāj, 43, Chinnakkadai Street, Tiruchirapalli-2, Tamil Nadu (T. Sathagopan, Trichy Radios).

Engaged on taking pictures and films of the Conferences, celebrations and other activities of H.H. and his Math; presently preparing a connected film-documentary on H.H.

The following is a selection of publications relating to H. H.—

Copper-Plate Inscriptions of the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha.

By T. A. Gopinatha Rao, 1916.

The contents of this volume have often been reproduced in part or full, in smaller volumes later.

Vyāsapūjā-vaibhava.

In Sanskrit Prose, in 9 sections. Descriptive account of the 1921-*Vyāsapūjā* of H.H. at Kadiramangalam Village, Tanjore Dt.

The Jagadguru.

By K. S. Venkataramani, written in 1921.

Included in his collection 'Paper Boats', Svetaranya Asrama, Mylapore, Madras. First edition, 1921. Pp. 86-96 of 4th edn. Also separately reprinted and issued by the same.

Sankarāchārya the Great and His successors in Kānchī.

By Venkata Raman, Professor of Philosophy, Maharajah's College, Vizianagaram, Ganesh & Co., Madras, pp. 113. 1923.

Srī Saṅkarāchārya and his Kāmakoṭi Peeṭha.

By Prof. N. Venkatesan Pantulu, M.A.L.T. 2nd Edn. Rajamundry, 1931.

Śrī Chandraśekharendra Śrīpāda Pañcaratna Aṣṭaka-Navaratnamālikā-Dvādaśamañjarī-Naukādayah.

By P. Panchapakesa Sastrigal, Kumbhakonam, 1932. Sanskrit Hymns on H. H.

Cāturmāsya to Cāturmāsya 1931-32. Illustrated.

An account of H. H.'s tour of the Chittoor Dt. (A.P.) from 28-7-1931 to 28-10-1932 ; includes summaries of H. H.'s lectures during the tour.

Published by C. Venkataramana Ayyar, Vakil, Chittoor, 1932.

H. H.'s Tamil Lectures in Sanskrit College, Madras. 2 Volumes. See below.

Gaṅgādiviayajyātrā of H. H.

An account in Sanskrit of H. H.'s North Indian tour. Published by Rao Bahadur Madhava Ram Manda, Damodardas Khanna and Jagannatha Sastri Bharadvaj 1934. IInd edn. 1959.

A detailed diary of H.H.'s tour and report of receptions, lectures etc. With illustrations of H.H. with Pt. Madan

Mohan Malavya, H. H. Maharajah of Banaras and well known Pandits.

Sri Sāṅkarapīṭhatattvadarśanam.

In Sanskrit, with some material in English.

By Pts. Swami Ramananda Sannyasi, Vidyadhara Sarma, Mahadeva Sastri and Pattabhirama Sastri. Banaras, 1935.

H. H. Sri Saṅkaracharya Swami of Kamakoti Peetham.

By Paul Brunton, B. G. Paul & Co., Madras-1, 1936. pp. 49.

A Reprint from the author's book, 'A Search in Secret India.' Has an Appendix on the Kāmakoṭi Peeṭham by K. S. Venkataramani.

Vijayanagara-ijayayātrā of H.H. 1936

By Sri D. B. V. Subrahmanya Sastri. Published under the patronage of the Maharani of Vizianagaram, August, 1937. In English and Telugu.

Gives an account of H.H.'s North Indian Tour and Visit to Vizianagaram in 1936, 7th November to 2nd December.

Jagadguru -Yatirājanavatiḥ.

A Sanskrit verse-eulogy on H. H. in 90 verses by Sri Kali Vangipuram Rangacharya. Presented to H. H. by author on 18th May, 1942.

Advaitākṣaramālikā. In Sanskrit, pp. 450.

Advaita Sabhā Golden Jubilee Volume, Kamakoṭi Kosasthanam, B. G. Paul & Co., Madras-1, 1946. Rs. 5.

51 Essays by several Sannyasins and Pandits bringing out the Advaitic ideas in all branches of Sanskrit literature.

Advaita Siddhānta Ponviḷāmālai.

In Tamil. Sri Kamakoti Kosasthanam, B. G. Paul & Co., Madras-1. 1953, Rs. 3.

A Tamil Volume on the lines of the previous; carries in 230 pages 23 articles on *Advaita* and *Advaita* as found in various branches of Tamil literature. With an Appendix giving a list of the Ācāryas of the Kāmakoṭi Maṭh.

Kumbhakonam Advaita Sabhā Golden Jubilee Commemoration Volume.

Sri Kamakoti Series 21. B.G. Paul & Co., Madras-1. Rs. 3.

Eleven English articles on *Advaita* and other branches of knowledge and the sciences.

Śrī Jagadguru Divya Charitra (in Tamil), pp. 472.

By Sri S. Sambamurthi Sastri, (H.H.'s Pūrvāśrama-brother). B. G. Paul & Co. Madras-1. 2nd March, 1957. A Jagadguru Golden Jubilee Publication.

An exhaustive biography and chronological account of H.H.'s career and services upto 1954.

Contains Appendices of accounts of H.H.'s daily routine, H.H.'s horoscope, and a table of the Pontiffs of the Kāmakoṭi Math from Śrī Ādi Śankara and Śrī Sureśvara, up to H.H. who is the 68th Acharya.

Śrī Deśikendra-Stavāñjali.

By Y. Mahalinga Sastri. Tiruvalangadu, May 1954. Sanskrit hymns in praise of H. H.

Advaita Sabhā Ṣaṣṭyabdapūrti Ratnotsava Śubha-Nibandha. (Diamond Jubilee Souvenir of the Advaita Sabhā) 18th March, 1956.

With illustrations including the then H. H. and the Pandits at the time of the inauguration ; also photograph of leading scholars of the Sabhā with short accounts of them. There are also Sanskrit articles on select teachers and authors of *Advaita* and their works, contributed by different *Advaita* Pandits ; also articles on Ādi Śankara and Kānchī, with photographs of Śankara-sculptures from temples at Kānchī.

Śrī Jagadguru's Upadeśas (H.H.'s Lectures in Madras) in Tamil. Pp. 244. Rs. 2. Part 2, on Śankara-Vijaya.

First published in 1933 by R. Narayanaswami Iyer, M. L. J. Press, Madras-4. Part 1, Pp. 620, Rs. 3. Part 2 republished by Kamakoti Kosasthanam, B. G. Paul & Co., Madras-1. 1957, at the time of H.H.'s Golden Jubilee.

Śrī Jagadguru's Upadeśas. Part 3, pp. 140. Rs. 2.

First published in 1933 by Sri Kamakoti Nilayam, Mylapore, Madras-4. Republished on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of H. H. in 1957. Kamakoti Kosasthanam, B.G. Paul & Co., Madras-1.

Śrī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha (of Śrī Śankarāchārya) in *Kanchi.* (Kāñchiyil Kāmakoṭi Peeṭham). Mainly in Tamil, pp. 69.

A reproduction of the royal grants and inscriptions and other letters and documents relating to this Pīṭha. Published by the Golden Jubilee Committee on 9th May, 1957.

Stotrāñjali.

By Dr. V. Raghavan. 18 verses on H. H. printed on palm leaves and presented to H. H. on 26-11-1957 when H. H. visited author's locality in Royapettah, Madras.

Srī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha in Kānchi (Tamil)

A brief account of the greatness of Kanchi Kṣetra with reproduction of inscriptions and sculptures relating to Ādi Śankara and his successors at Kanchi, found in the temples there.

Sri Ilayathangudi Swami (H. H. Sri Mahadevendra Sarasvati), pp. 34.

Supplement to the Souvenir of the first Vyāsa Vidvat Sadas held at Ilayathangudi.

On the 65th Pontiff of the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha, Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī who attained Samādhi at this place in 1890.

Reproduces records and letters, relating to this Ācārya, as also musical compositions of contemporary musicians celebrating him.

Call of Jagadguru

Speeches of H.H. in Madras 1957. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras-17.

H. H. in Madras 1957-1960. *Life and Gospel of H. H. Jagadguru Sri Kamakoti Peetham.* By Sri K. S. Ramaswami Sastri.

A biography and appreciation of the life and mission of H.H. pp. 87, illustrated.

Published by the Golden Jubilee Committee, Madras, May, 1960.

Sri Kamakoti Pradipa.

A monthly journal in Tamil, Sanskrit and English coming out from February, 1960 for the propagation of Dharma and to give correct periodic reports of the work of the Math and the *Vijaya-yātrās* of H. H. the Senior and Junior Swamijis and publish their teachings.

Published by K. Nilakanthan, from 4, Francis Joseph Street, Madras-1.

Srī Sadāśiva Brahmendra Sarasvatī Svamigal Vijayam.

By Śāstraratnākara Polaham Rama Sastrigal. With a Foreword by Dr. V. Raghavan, which gives evidence of Paramaśivendra Sarasvatī as an Ācārya of Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha, *Kamakoti Pradipa* Publication, 1961.

Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Pitham Through the Ages

By Sri N. Ramesan, I.A.S., Director of Archaelogy A.P., Deals especially with the Copper-Plate grants of the Math. Ganesh & Co., Madras-17. May, 1962.

Srī Kāverī-rahasyam.

On the sacred river Kaveri, from its rise in Coorg on the West to its joining the sea at Kāverīppūmpaṭṭinam in Tanjore Dt., in the East ; describes all the sacred places and shrines and temples on its banks and the association of saints and the myths, literary and other associations. Illustrated. Conceived by H. H. on the model of the Hindi book *Narmadārahasya* (1946) and completed under his guidance.

Published by P. Mahadeva Iyer, Secretary, Amarabhārati Parīkṣā Samiti, Tiruvānmiyūr, Madras-20. 1962 Rs. 4.

Advaita-grantha-kośa (Bibliography of Advaita).

A list of 1500 *Advaita* works in print and Ms. with an Introduction. Compiled under the guidance of H. H. Released on 19-1-1964. Publication sponsored by Deva Vāṇī Parishad, Desapriya Park Rd., Calcutta. B. G. Paul & Co., Madras-1. Rs. 10.

Sri Chandrasekharendra Vijaya Bhīmaratha Vāg-gucchamālā, 26th May, 1964, Madras.

A volume brought out on the 71st Birthday of H.H.

A sumptuously illustrated volume containing addressees and homages in verse and prose in Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and other languages presented to H.H. from 1908 to 1964, during H.H.'s tours in Tamilnadu and other States and during H.H.'s North Indian tour.

Sri Jagadguru Acharya's Valuable Services (In Tamil), pp. 20.

Published on the occasion of H.H.'s 71st Birthday, 26th May, 1964. Printed at Liberty Press, Madras-1.

A short Diary of noteworthy events of each year from 1908-1964.

Divinity in Flesh and Blood (*Naḍamāḍum Daivam*) By M. G. Guruswami Aiyer, Advocate, Sivaganga, pp. 24.

Record of the experiences of the author on havin the long cherished desire for the *darśana* of H.H. and his experiences at subsequent *darśanas.*

Acharya's Call Pt. 1.

Compiled by V. Ramakrishna Aiyar, B. G. Paul & Co., Madras-1. Rs. 2-50.

Madras discourses of H.H., 1957-60. Pp. 252.

Released on 26th May, 1964, H.H.'s 71st Birthday.

Part 2. Compiled by same author and published by same company. Pp. 269. Rs. 3.50.

69 Discourses in Madras, 1957-60. Released on the 75th Birthday of H.H., 1968.

Seventy-one—Seventy-nine at Kāñcī

Published on the occasion of the Birthday celebrations of H.H. frcm the 71st upto date 79th in 1972. Profusely illustrated. 1964-1972.

Besides tributes paid to H.H., contains very interesting information on 71 shrines at Kāñcī, together with drawings and photographs, notes on 71 centres, places and properties belonging to the Kamakoti Math in Tamil Nadu and elsewhere, and the list of Sanskrit scholars and voluntary workers attached to the Math. There is also a list of the places where the successive *Jayantis* (birthdays) of H.H. were celebrated.

The 72-Souvenir carries similar valuable illustrations and explanations of the rare images and shrines in the Kāmākṣī Temple at Kāñcī.

The other souvenirs carry extracts from H.H.'s speeches.

Vyāsa and Sankara in the Varadarāja and other Temples in Kāñcīpuram

Compiled under the direct guidance of H.H., *Purāṇa*, All-India Kasi Raja Trust, Varanasi, July, 1965.

Draws attention to a large number of sculptures of Ādi Śaṅkara with or without Vyāsa, in the numerous temples in Kanchipuram, showing the intimate life and activity of Ādi Śaṅkara in this historic town of great sanctity. Profusely illustrated.

The Jagadguru.

21 Interviews of visitors from abroad with H.H (1931-65).

Edited by Dr. V. Raghavan.

Jaya-Chandra, 12th June, 1965. Published on the 72nd Birthday of H. H.; released at H. H.'s Camp at Tondayarpet, Madras.

Reprinted later with the title 'Voice of the Jagadguru'.

Souvenir of the Diamond Jub lee of H.H.

Published by the Association for Hindu Dharma, Madras, 1957.

In English and Tamil and with many illustrations; includes the homage paid by some foreign scholars who had seen H.H. during their visits to Madras.

Preceptors of Advaita. Edited by Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan.

A Golden Jubilee Commemoration Volume. Published by Sri Kānchi Kamakoti Sankara Mandir, Secunderabad, 1968. Rs. 25.

On *Advaita* teachers from ancient times to the present Acharya ; contains also articles on the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha of Śankara at Kanchi and its history and antiquity.

The Sage of Kanchi. By Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan.

Published by Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Sankara Mandir, Secunderabad, 1963. Rs. 5.

An account of the life and mission of His Holiness. Pp. 98.

Aspects of Our Religion.

By H. H. A Selection from His discourses. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7. Re. 1.

Sixty Years of a Glorious Ministry (Illustrated).

A chronological account of the highlights of Sixty years' work of H.H. Published on 13th February, 1968. Pp. 35.

The following institutions and activities set up under the aegis or at the inspiration and guidance of H.H. are described here: The Advaita Sabhā;its Sanskrit Journal *Brahma Vidyā* ; Mudrādhikāri Sangam ; Dharma Toṇḍu Sabhā; the Journal *Kāmakoṭi*; Jīvātma-kainkarya Sabhā for helping the funeral of those who die as destitutes ; Daiva-vazhipāḍu-sangam (1958) for distributing *prasāda* for patients in hospitals ; Vāra Vazhipāḍu Sangam (1950) for weekly congregational worship ; Āgama-Śilpa-Bhārata-Vyāsa-Vidvat Sadas (1962) ; Kāmakoṭi Kośasthānam for publishing Stotras with Tamil transliteration and translation ; *Kāmakoṭi-pradīpa,* a monthly Journal ; Tiruppāvai-Tiruvembāvai Conference (1950) for periodic conferences, recitals and free distribution of copies of the two hymns ; starting of Oriental Schools for Sans-

krit study; 'Amara Bhāratī' Sanskrit Examinations (together with distribution of text-books and prices) with branches in neighbouring States; Veda Dharma Śāstra Paripālana Sabhā, for Vedic Examinations and conventions (1942); the Kalavai Brindāvana Veda Vidyā Trust for maintaining Veda Pāṭhaśālās and endowing Vedic scholars with a capital fund for their maintenance; the Shashtyabdapūrti Trust for promoting knowledge of *Vedabhāṣya*; Veda Rakṣaṇa Nidhi (1959, 1963) for maintaining Veda Pāṭhaśālās and their teachers and students, in Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Maharashtra and West Bengal; Free Upanayanam; Kannikādāna Trust to help poor families to get their daughters married.

Sankara and Shanmata. M.L.J. Press, Madras 4. 1969. Rs. 12.

A large and sumptuously illustrated volume containing articles on the development and significance of devotion to the Six Deities, Śiva, Devī, Viṣṇu, Āditya, Gaṇeśa and Ṣaṇmukha.

The *Śankara Shaṇmata Conference* organised under the guidance of H.H. was held from 1st to 9th June 1969 at the Āstika Samājam, Venus Colony, Teynampet, Madras, was attended by a large number of teachers and Math-heads, scholars and pandits from all over India and representing all the six schools of devotion, the *Ṣaṇmata*. The Conference was inaugurated by the President of India, Sri V. V. Giri; learned discourses were delivered and Bhajans, Harikathās and devotional musical recitals marked the programme every day.

Srī Sivagītimālā.

A devotional cum love-lyric on the model of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* by Sri Candraśekharendra Sarasvatī, the 62nd Ācārya of Kāñchi Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha. Edited by Mannargudi N. Srinivasan Sastrigal and printed at Janardana Printing Works, Kumbhakonam, 1934.

Critcally re-edited on the basis of fresh mss. by Dr. V. Raghavan and offered to H. H. by Sri Anantānandendrā Sarasvatī, on H. H.'s 76th Birthday on the eve of *Sankara Jayantī* in May 1969. Kāmakoṭi Maṭh, Kāñchi. 75 np.

Vedāntanāmasahasra. of Paramaśivendra Sarasvatī, previous Ācārya of Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha, edited by Pt. S.R. Krishnamurti Sastri, with a Foreword by Dr. V. Raghavan.

Published by Sri Kamakoti Sankara Mandir, Secunderabad as a homage to H.H. on the *Ṣaṣṭyabdapūrti* of his *pīṭhārohaṇa*, 1969.

Kāmakoṭi Vāṇī

A monthly, first started at Rajahmundry, Andhra Pradesh, now being conducted from Madras (6-A, Station Road, West Mambalam, Madras 600033).

Publishes articles on Hinduism, Indian Philosophy and reports of activities of the Kamakoti Math and its Acharyas.

H. H. Jayanti (Birthday) Souvenirs from the Birth-place of H.H. at Vizhuppuram.

These volumes contain valuable photographs of H.H.'s birth, parents, early life etc. at the house of H.H.'s birth at Vizhuppuram which has now been rebuilt as a Math and Centre for Vedic classes and other religious activities. Carries also articles on Hinduism, *Vedānta* and the Kamakoti Math. See especially 1968, 1969, 1970 Souvenirs brought out for H.H.'s 75th, 76th and 77th Birth-days.

Śrīmat Kāñcī-Jagadguru-Mahima Stotra in Sanskrit by Prof. M. Ramakrishna Bhat, Hindu College, Delhi, Sankara Academy of Sanskrit Culture and Classical Arts, New Delhi.

A biographical poem and hymn, B. G. Paul & Co., Madras-1

1957 to 1972

A fresh momentum to the activities of H. H. and tempo of enthusiasm among the public were witnessed from September 1957 onwards when H.H., at the request of devotees, visited Madras after a long time and spent a considerable time in and around the city. Below is given a *Diary* of the more important events of this period.

23-9-1957 H.H. arrived in Madras, at Vājapeyagṛha of the late Sri D. Balasubrahmanya Iyer of B. G. Paul & Co.; after *anuṣṭhānam* there, from the adjoining residence of Sri K. Srinivasan of the *Hindu*, a grand procession was arranged and H.H. reached the Sanskrit College, Mylapore, his camp in the city. A Sanskrit Address was presented to H.H. on his arrival.

The daily *pūjās* and discourses of H.H. in the evenings drew large concourse of devotees.

There was, every day, some important function during H.H.'s camp at the Sanskrit College. A few may be noted.

24-9-1957 *Sārada Navarātri.*

Advaita Sabha session was held.

November, 1957 Meeting delegates to the World Vegetarian Congress which met at Madras. The meeting took place at Asram, Luz Church Road, Mylapore, residence of Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer.

H.H. went round Royapettah area and saw at Dr. V. Raghavan's house rare mss., editions of works under preparation, photostats and microfilms of mss. from foreign libraries, copy of his survey of 20,000 uncatalogued Sanskrit mss. in Europe, microfilm reader from Germany and some rare publications in Sanskrit and Indology.

26-1-1958 Presided over a function for honouring the eminent Gujarati Pandit and scholar in *Sāmaveda* and *Jyotiṣa*, Rewa Sankara Bechār Bai Trivedi and released the Felicitation Volume brought out in honour of the Pandit. Dr. V. Raghavan conducted the proceedings of the function, which took place at H..H's camp, T.Nagar.

1958 Some important events:

Consecration of the Śankara Math, Old Mambalam, Madras.

Presided over the Kālidāsa Day of the Samskrita Academy on Vijayadaśamī and endowed Rs. 5,000 for an annual Essay prize for the Kālidāsa Day on a subject based on Maraimalai Adigal's Tamil translation of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala.*

A joint Address in Sanskrit was presented to H.H. by the Samskrita Academy and the K.S.R. Institute.

H.H. visited the Research Departments and the Library of the University of Madras and the Government Oriental Mss. Library; at the Research Departments he spent a considerable time in the room of Dr. V. Raghavan who showed and explained the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* work; and at the Library, saw a number of illustrated volumes relating to S. E. Asia and the monuments of Indian culture there. Visited also the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library in the University premises.

H.H. was requested by several establishments in and around the city, some of which like the offices of the leading newspapers the *Hindu, Indian Express* and

H. H. at Dr. Raghavan's office at the University of Madras, seeing the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* work
1958

1958 : His Holiness expounding Śankara-bhāṣya in the traditional style

Swadesamitran and the Integral Coach Factory and Airport, he visited.

H.H. addressed a rally of the R.S.S. workers at his Sanskrit College camp.

26-2-1958 Sir Paul Dukes from U. K. and Mr. Philippe Lavastine from France met H.H. at the T. Nagar camp, Madras.

9-3-1958 *Kanakābhiṣekam* was performed for H.H. at the T.Nagar camp, Madras. H.H. donated Rs. 10,000 for founding the Sanskrit Education Society, Madras.

During *Vyāsapūjā*, H.H. conducted for select persons, with *Śāntipāṭha*, the *pravacana* of *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras*,

Vedabhāṣya examinations and the year's Advaita Sabha session were also held.

June, 1968 The *Amarabhāratī Parīkṣā Samiti* was shifted to Madras.

1-9-1958 Inaugurated the Sāvitri Ammal Oriental High School in the Sanskrit College grounds.

20-10-1958 Joint address of H.H. and the Swamiji of Pejawar Math at the Sanskrit College.

10-1-1959 Arthur Koestler called on H.H. and with the help of Dr. Raghavan and Prof. P. Sankaranarayanan, had an interview with H.H. at the Sankara Math, West Mambalam. The Interview figures in Koestler's book 'The Lotus and the Robot' (Hutchinson, London, 1960, pp. 54-63).

Adyar camp : Participated in the religious function of the construction of Sri Padmanābhasvāmi Temple at Adyar.

15-3-1959 H.H. concluded his Madras camp. A huge gathering bid him farewell, unwillingly, at the campus of the Madras Sanskrit College. Addresses were read in 14 languages. Rajaji was among those who participated in the function.

20-4-1959 Camped at Vānagaram, Poonamallee High Road, near Madras and conducted *Vasanta Navarātri* there.

Interview with H.H. of Artur Isenberg of the Southern Languages Book Trust and Ford Foundation, at Nūmbal near Madras, with Dr. Raghavan as interpretor.

. . .

13-5-1959 Celebrated at Vānagaram, *Sankara Jayantī*.

H.H.'s Radio Broadcast in Sanskrit for the *Sankara Jayantī* special programme compered by Dr. Raghavan,

Special Adviser for Sanskrit, A.I.R. For the text of H.H.'s Sanskrit message and its English translation see *Kāmakoṭi Pradīpa* I. 4, pp. 141-150.

22-1-1960 Profs. H. Nakamuara and Miyamoto of Tokyo called on H.H. at Nūmbal near Madras and had discussions with the help of Profs. T. Balakrishna Nair, S. Ramaswami and T. M. P. Mahadevan.

February, 1960 Devotees of H.H. started at Madras the monthly magazine *Kāmakoṭi Pradīpa.*

6-2-1960 Inaugurated the Sanskrit Education Society, Madras, at its campus in Nazarat Pettai, Poonamallee, Madras. Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the first President of the Society, and the then Chief Minister of Madras, Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam whose son-in-law Sri C. N. Varadappan had donated the Pettai land to the Society, participated in the function.

For H.H.'s Inauguration Address in Sanskrit, see *Kāmakoṭi Pradīpa* I.3. pp. 99-101.

16-3-1960 At Aḍayappalam, the village of the great Appayya Dīkshita, the *Kumbhābhiṣekam* of Sri Kālakaṇṭheśvara Temple was done in the presence of H.H.

28-3-1960 to 5-4-1960 Reached Tiruvānaikkāval (Jambukeśvaram); *Vasanta Navāratri* was celebrated here by H.H.

6-4-1960 *Kumbhābhiṣekam* of Temple at Jabukeśvaram (Tiruvānaikkā, Tiruchi) in H.H.'s presence for the second time, the first being in 1908.

7-4-1960 Visit to Lālguḍi.

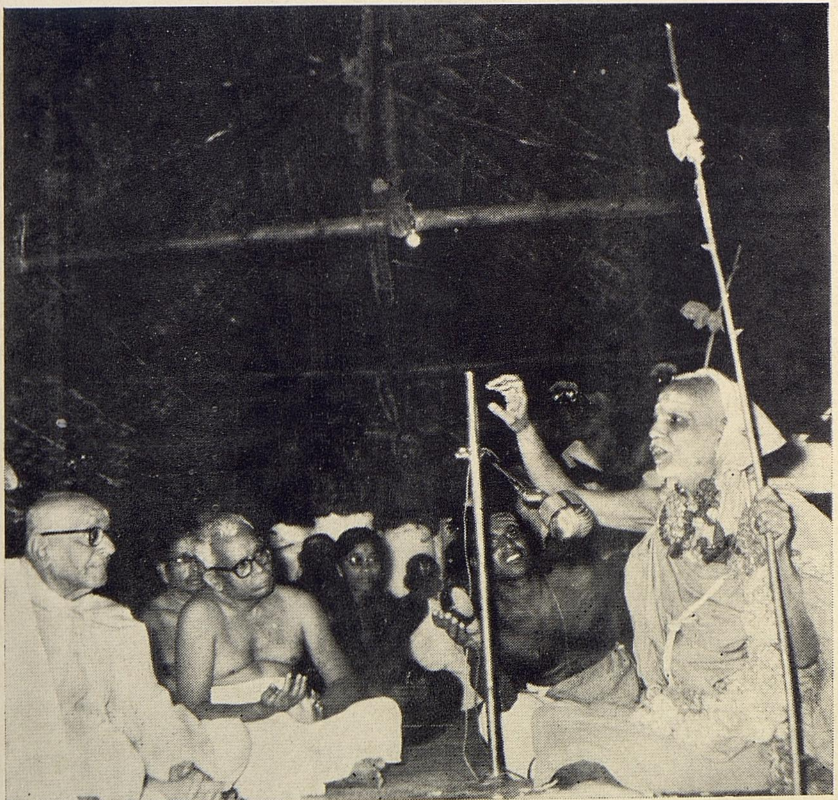
5-11-1960 At Kāmanāyakanpālayam near Tiruchi, H.H. convened a Conference of Math Heads (Dharma Pīṭhasamudāyam); the meeting was attended by H.H. Svamiji of Pejāwar Dvaita Maṭh and the Head of the Sri Tirugñānasambandha Svamigal Śaiva Maṭh, Madurai and representatives of 35 other Maṭhs.

26-11-1960 The Hindu Religious Endowment Board Commission headed by Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer interviewed H.H. at Kāmanāyakanpālayam on the lunar eclipse day.

Visited Nerūr and the Samādhi of Śrī Sadāśiva Brahmendra for the third time.

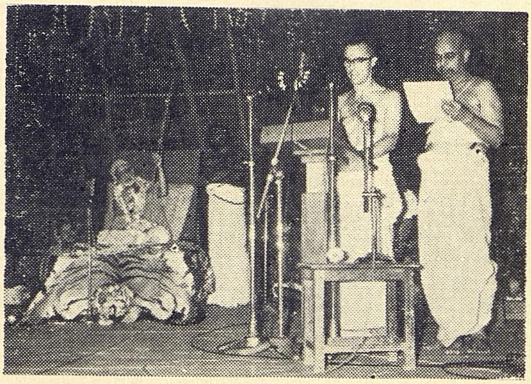
5-2-1961 H.H. with Junior H.H. entered Kumbhakonam after some time; there was a grand reception.

11, 12-2-1961 Visited Māyūram at the request of Dharmapuram Paṇḍāra Sannidhigal and visited the religious and other institutions under that Maṭh.

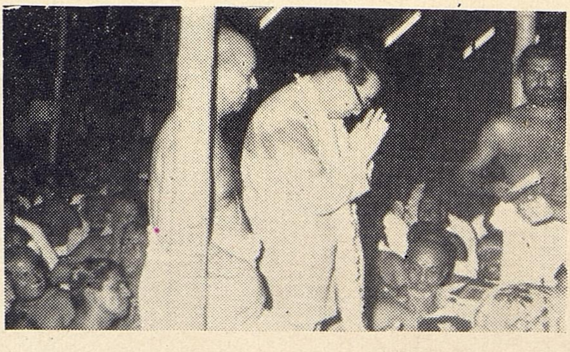


6-2-1960 : H. H. inaugurating the Sanskrit Education Society at its grounds in Pettai near Madras. In front of H. H. are Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, President of the Society and Hon. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Chief Minister of Madras

Dr. J. Filliozat speaking at Ilayāttaguḍi Sadas before H. H., with Dr. Raghavan translating
13-9-1962—19-6-1962



Dr. Daniel Smith of the University of Syracuse, U. S., speaking before H. H. at Ilayāttaguḍi Sadas. Dr. Raghavan is translating.



H. E. The Thai Ambassador in Delhi, Sukich Nimmahemendo, saluting H. H. at Ilayāttaguḍi Sadas.

Visited several villages in Tanjore Dt. and also Tanjore City.

28- 2-1961 Reached Mannārguḍi.

11- 3-1961 Reached Pudukoṭṭai.

8- 4-1961 Reached Madurai, through Melūr.

15- 4-1961 H.H. visited Madurai after 15 years. Grand reception in the city, by a Committee headed by Sir P. T. Rajan and the Head of the Śaiva Maṭhs there.

16- 4-1961 Went to Ilayāttaguḍi and celebrated *Vasanta Navarātri* there from 17th.

2- 5-1961 H.H.'s 69th Birth Day Jayanti celebrated in Madurai on a grand scale.

Dharmopanayanam for 1960 boys under the auspices of the Maṭh.

3- 6-1961 Release by H.H. of *Brahmānandīya Bhāvaprakāśa* of Panchapagesa Sastrigal at a *Sadas* at Madurai. Pandits of the Palace of H.H. Rama Varma Parikshit Tampuran, Maharajah of Cochin, represented His Highness. The work was edited by the Maharajah and Panditaraja V. Subrahmanya Sastri.

1962 Mr. Robert Walser, Yoga School, Zurich and Miss Eughina Borghini, Buenos Aires, Argentina called on H.H. The latter saw H.H. more than once and was present all through the first *Āgama Śilpa Sadas* at Ilayāttaguḍi.

6- 7-1962 His Highness Maharajah of Travancore paid his respects to H.H. at Ilayāttaguḍi camp.

13- 9-1962 }
19- 9-1962 } The first *Āgama Śilpa Sadas* conceived by H.H. was conducted under his aegis on a lavish scale at Ilayāttaguḍi camp for a week, as already described. On the last day H.H. conferred titles on several of the participants. On Dr. V. Raghavan, who steered the Conference, along with Sa. Ganesan, H.H. was pleased to bestow the title 'Sakala-kalā-kalāpa'.

12 to 14-10-1962 First All-India *Sarvaśākhā Vedic Sammelan*, Delhi organised under the aegis of H.H. Central Ministers participated.

10-12-1962 H.H. spoke on the A.I.R., Tiruchi about the revival of ancient arts and cultural activities.

11-12-1962 Sanskrit message from A.I.R., Delhi. For the text of the message, See *Kāmakoṭi Pradīpa* III, 2. pp. 528-531.

17- 4-1963 *Kumbhābhiṣekam* under the immediate presence and guidance of H.H. of the Bangāru Kāmākṣī Temple at Tanjore.

28-4-1963 Consecration by H. H. of the Sankara Maṭh and images of *Ādi Śankara and his four disciples* in marble at *Agnitīrtha* at Rameswaram; the whole monument conceived by H.H. with great originality and imagination, is an epitome of Hinduism and Indian culture.

This monument was visited by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India on 28th September, 1963; by the Maharaja of Mysore some time later and on 13th December, 1965 by Their Majestics King Mahendra and Queen Ratna of Nepal.

28-6-1963 *Kumbhābhiṣekam* of Mīnākṣī temple, Madurai, under the guidance of H.H. who attended the function. There was a record attendance of people and V.I.P.'s including members of the Foreign Diplomatic Corps.

17 to 23- 7-1963 The outstanding event during H.H.'s camp in Madurai was the second *Āgama Śilpa Conference* organised on as grand a scale as the first one at Ilayāttaguḍi and held at Nārāyaṇavaram in the outskirts of the city. Dr. F. Filliozat of France and Dr. V. Raghavan took part.

Dr. Joseph W. Elder, Asst. Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, met H.H. during the Sadas; also Prof. H. Nakamura and his wife from Tokyo and Mr. & Mrs. Mayeda, Japanese students from Pennsylvania studying in Madras at that time.

19- 8-1963 U.S. Consul at Madras, Prof. A. B. Franklin had an interview here with H.H.

Laid the foundation for a shrine for *Ācārya Pādukā* on the banks of the Vaigai river and a place for *Aparakṛtya*. The *Pādukās* were later consecrated on *Śankara Jayantī* Day in 1965.

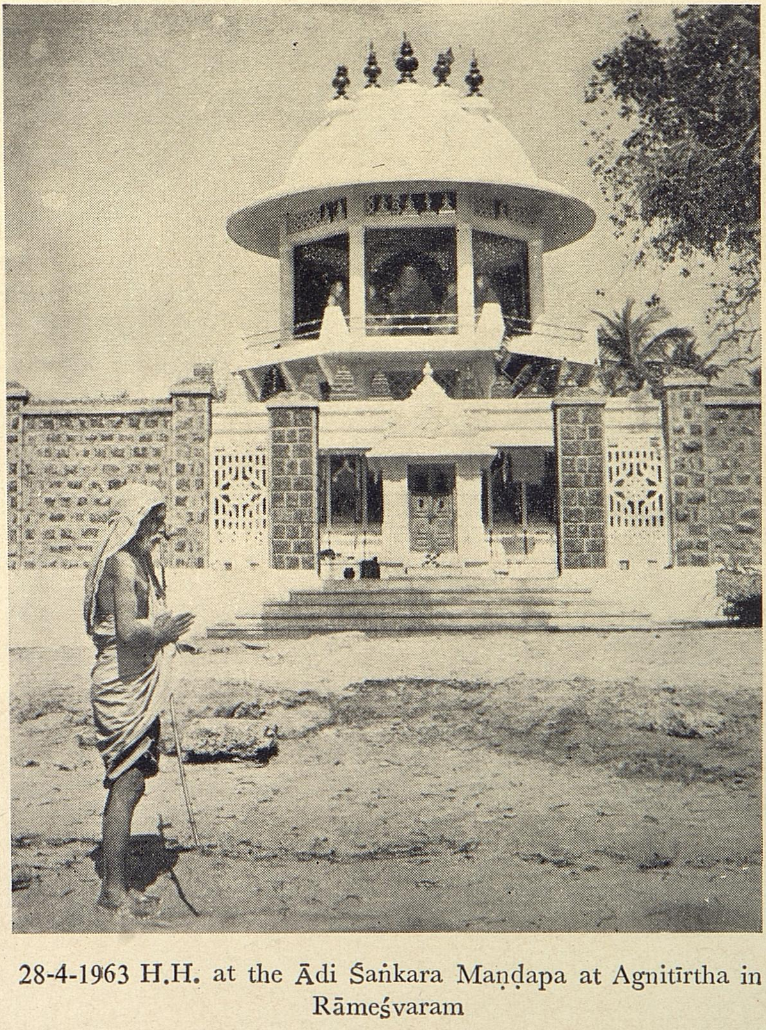
2-11-1963 A free Ayurvedic dispensary opened at H.H.'s Math, Kanchipuram.

5-12-1963 Consecration at the Śankara Maṭh, Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Madhyārjuna) of the images of Ādi Śankara and God Mahālinga declaring that Advaita is true (*Satyam Advaitam*). For a description of the function and photographs of the same, *Kāmakoṭi Pradīpa* IV. 6. (19-12-1963) may be seen.

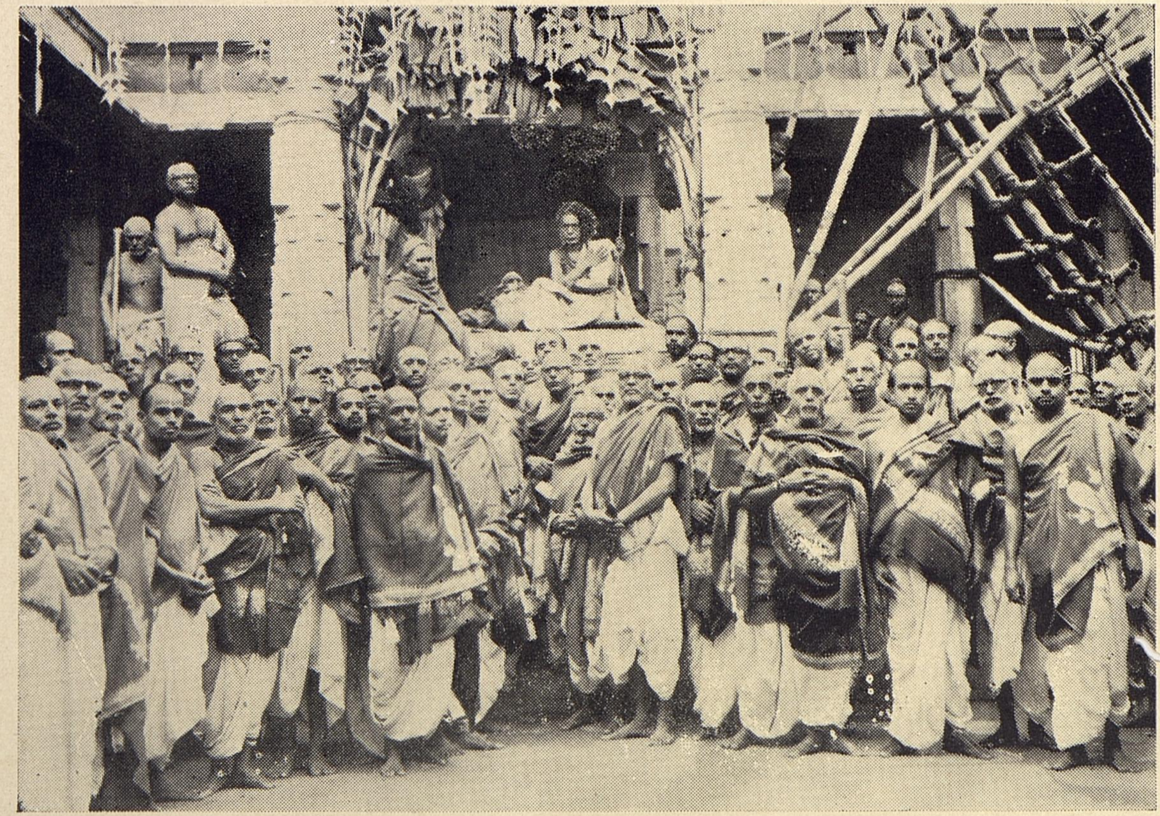
19-1-1964 *Advaita-grantha-kośa* compiled under H. H.'s guidance released.

13- 4-1964 H.H.'s address over A.I.R., Tiruchi on the Tamil New Year's Day.

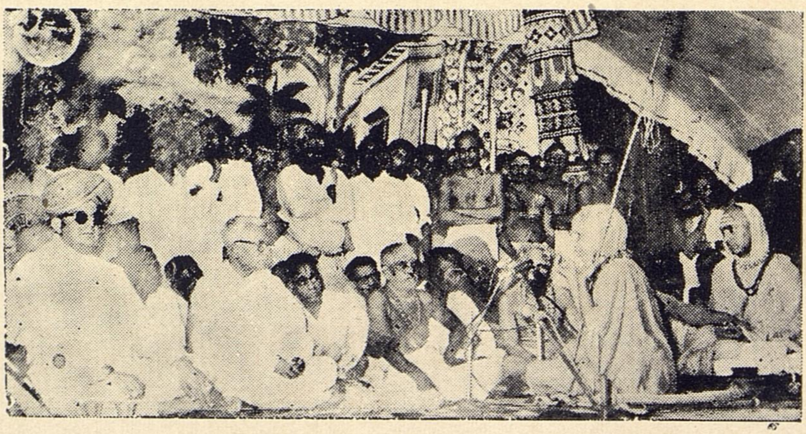
31- 5-1964 Consecration of a shrine for Ādi Śankara and four disciples at Kanyākumārī.



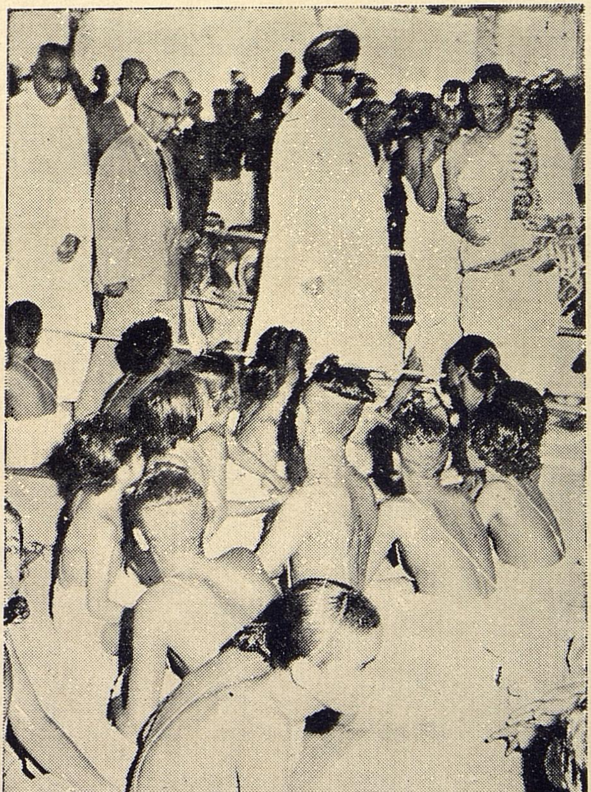
28-4-1963 H.H. at the Ādi Śaṅkara Maṇḍapa at Agnitīrtha in Rāmeśvaram



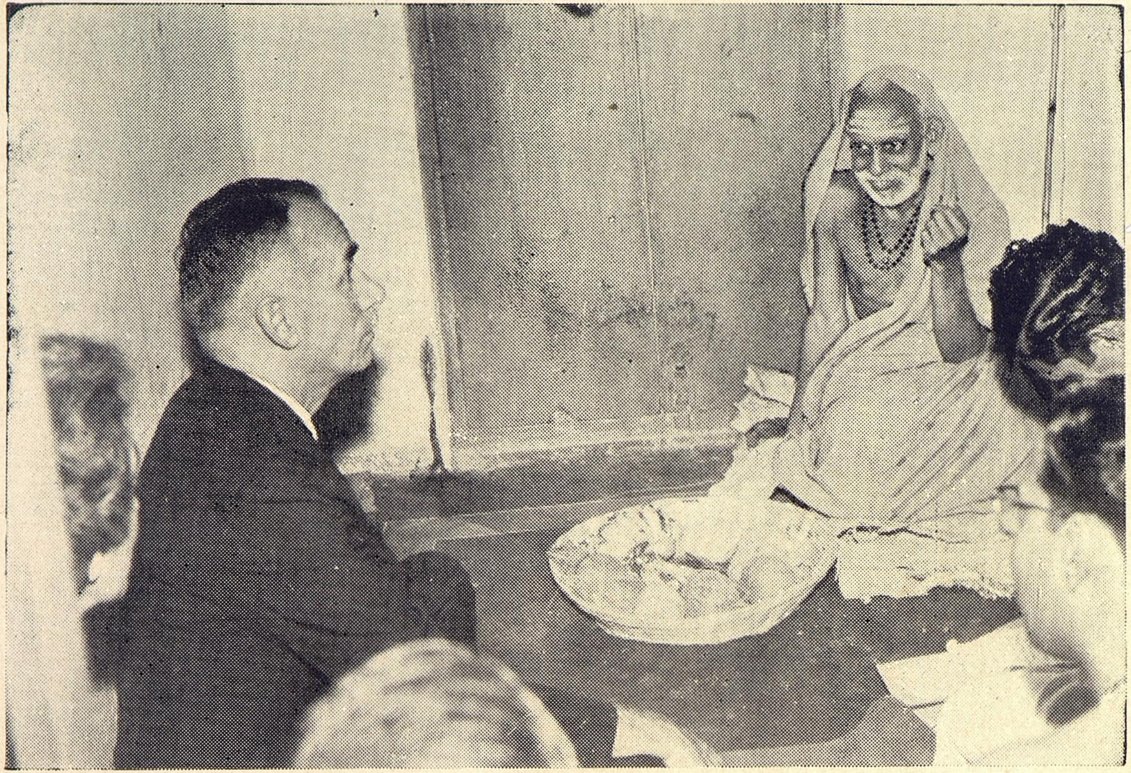
5-12-1963 : Consecration of Śrī Adi Śankara's Pādukās at Sankara Math, Tiruvidaimarudur (Madhyārjuna) and the honouring of Pandits on the occasion



21-9-1964 IIIrd Āgama Śilpa Sadas at Kāñcī being inaugurated by the Maharajah of Mysore, Governor of Madras, in the presence of H.H.



His Highness Jayachamarajendra Wadiar, Governor of Madras, at the All-India Vedic Sammelan at the Śiva-Viṣṇu Temple, T. Nagar, Madras, conducted under the inspiration of His Holiness. 24-2-1965—1-3-1965



22-4-1965 : Second Interview given by H.H. to the U.S. Consul in Madras Dr. A. B. Franklin.

21 to 27-9-1964	IIIrd *Āgama Śilpa Sadas* at Kanchi. H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore, Governor of Madras inaugurated.
30-10-1964	Dr. Chedo Velyachich of Yugoslavia met H.H.
24-1-1965	Mr. Henry Lenaerts, Belgian Sculptor, had an interview with H.H. at Kāñcī.
24-2-1965 to 1-3-1965	The second All-India *Sarvaśākhā Vedic Sammelan* was held at Śiva-Viṣṇu Temple, T.Nagar, Madras,
	The Maharaja of Mysore, Governor of Madras, visited the Sammelan. H.H. was camping at the time at Sunkuvar Sattram on Poonamallee High Road.
11-3-1965	H.H. who had come to Mylapore Sanskrit College, left that camp and went to Triplicane and camped in Vasanta Bungalow.
12-3-1965	Prof. Minoru Hara, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Tokyo, had an interview with H.H. along with Dr. V. Raghavan and Prof. P. Tirugnanasambandhan.
	Karnatic musicians led by Maharajapuram Visvanatha Iyer paid, as usual, their Tamil New Year Day homage and sang at H.H.'s pūjā.
	Pt. Ravi Sankar paid his respects to H.H. and played Sitar before H.H. with Allah Rakhah on Tabla.
14-3-1965	Miss Beatrice Pitney Lamb, New York, had an interview and discussion with H.H. along with Dr. V. Raghavan at Māṅgāḍu near Madras.
24-3-1965	Dr. S. I. Tulev of the Institute of History of Art, Moscow, had an interview with H.H.
11-4-1965	'Kanākabhiṣeka' for H.H. The Founder's Day of the Madras Sanskrit College celebrated in the immediate presence of H.H.
22-4-1965	U. S. Consul Prof. A. B. Franklin met H.H. again at the Sanskrit College camp.
	'Navaratna' *abhiṣeka* for H.H. at Śaṅkarālaya, Mylapore. Public meeting at Sastri Hall to pay homage to H.H. Tamil writers and others spoke.
2-5-1965 to 5-5-1965	Celebrated *Śaṅkara Jayantī* at Sanskrit College, Mylapore on a grand scale.
	Shawls with lotus-designs were presented by H.H. to Dr. V. Raghavan, T. N. Ramachandran and Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer for the title 'Padmabhushan' awarded to them by the President of India.
16-5-1965	H.H.'s 72nd Jayanti celebrated at his camp in Coral Merchant Street, Madras.

12- 6-1965	Tondiarpet camp; H.H. released the publication 'Jagadguru' compiled by Dr. V. Raghavan.
25- 9-1965	*Navarātri* and *Vidvat Sadas* at Kāṭṭupalli near Madras.
14-10-1965	H.H. delivered a message over A.I.R. on *Deśa-sevā* (service to the country) as *Īśvara-sevā* (service to God). H.H. had a lakh of copies of a Hindi stotra on Hanumān printed and circulated among the Jawans for courage and victory; appealed to the Nation to contribute liberally to war fund and himself gave a contribution in gold.
30-11-1965	H.H. visited Tirumalai Hills and was received with temple honours.
2-12-1965	Spoke at the *Ārṣa Sadas* at the Hills. Dr. Watson of W. Germany met H.H.
10-12-1965	H.H. arrived at T.Nagar, Madras. Camped at Sarvamangala Kalyana Mandapam, T.Nagar; big reception. Participated in the *Kumbhābhiṣekam* of Sri Subrahmanyaswāmi Temple in Teynampet on 12-12-'65
13 to 17-12-1965	IVth *Aguma Śilpa Sadas* at the newly constructed Kalpakambal Kalyana Mandapam in Mylapore, Madras. The Chief Minister, Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam inaugurated.
18-12-1965	Left Mylapore and camped in Tiruvotriyūr in the Maṭh's own colony. *En route* visited the Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sanga in Linghi Chetti Street.
January, 1966	Stay at Shakti Pipes campus in the outskirts of Madras; then visited Sulurpet etc.
4-1-1966	H. H. visited Nellore.
February, 1966	H.H. Maharaja of Mysore, Governor of Madras, paid his respects to H.H. and had discussion at Madras.
6, 7-2-1966	Attended the Math Heads' Conference at the H.R.E. Board's office in Madras where it was resolved to start a common platform of all Maths for propagating Hinduism (*Hindu-samayapperavai*). Huge Public meeting at P. S. High School grounds with all Math-Heads; inauguration of the *Peravai*.
6-3-1966	Camped at Sri Tyāgarāja Vidvat Samājam, Mylapore for a few days.
	Gave an interview to Dr. Robert Slater who was connected with the Centre of Advanced Study of Great Religions at Harvard University; Mrs. Slater was present; the visitors were brought to H.H. by Dr. V. Raghavan.
21-4-1966 to 25-4-1966	H. H. inaugurated *Śankara Jayantī* at his birth-place at Vizhuppuram. Lt. Governor Sri Silam of Pondicherry presided and Pandits were honoured. H.H.

6-2-1966: H. H. with Heads of the Tamil Śaiva Maths at the Daivika-p-peravai

2-9-1966 Vth Āgama Śilpa Sadas at Kālahasti being inaugurated in the presence of H.H.

Prativādibhayankaram Anangaracharya of Kāñcī paying tribute to H.H. at one of the Diamond Jubilee Celebration meetings 1967

released the *Śabdatarangiṇī* by Panditaraja Sri V. Subrahmanya Sastrigal and conferred on him the title 'Śāstra Ratnākara.' Later in June, the Kāmakoṭi Seva Samiti set up a committee to build a large centre for Vedic and Sanskrit studies here.

In between, H.H. visited Pondicherry and addressed a R.S.S. rally.

Mr. J. Hodson from U. K. visited H.H.

26-4-1966 Celebration of H.H.'s Birth Jayanti at his birth-site.

In April 1966, H.H. promulgated the *Piḍi-ariśi-tiṭṭam*, of everyone setting apart a handful of rice, the same to be collected at a local temple, cooked and offered to God and then distributed to the poor.

30-4-1966 Civic reception at Pondicherry to H.H. and Junior Swamigal.

28-5-1966 Visit to Vellore; civic reception there.

11-6-1966 Reached Madras.

12, 13-6-1966 Participated in the Madras State Maṭh Heads' Conference, at H.R.E. Board premises.

15-6-1966 Declared open at Nazarath Pettai, Poonamallee High Road, 18 miles from Madras, the building of the *Sanskrit Education Society* started in commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of H.H.'s ascension to the *Pīṭha*.

23-6-1966 to 28-6-1966 Visited Tirupati; performed *Sahasrakalaśābhiṣeka* for Sri Venkaṭeśwara.

28-6-1966 to 2-7-1966 Reached Kālahasti and performed *Cāturmāsya* there.

July, 1966 Went to Kākināḍa; *Gītākaumudī* by the Svamiji of Gāyatrī Pīṭha, Masulipatnam was released by H.H.

18-7-1966 Arrived at Rajahmundry; stayed here during Godāvarī Puṣkaram.

Inaugurated the meeting of the All-India Samskṛta Pracāra Sabhā.

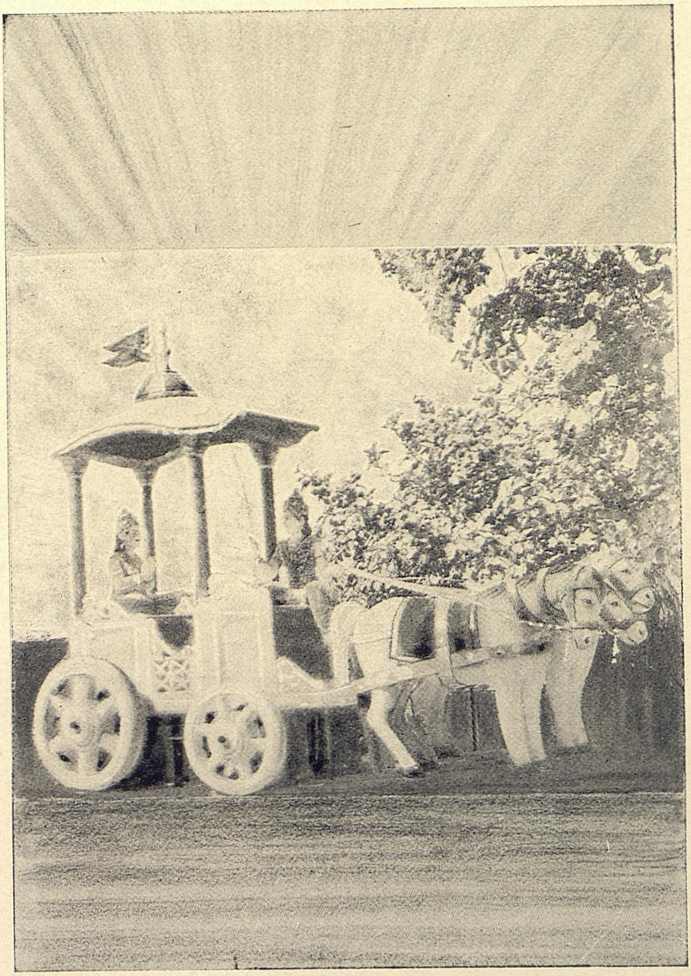
2-9-1966 to 8-9-1966 Vth *Āgama Silpa* Conference at Kālahasti. H.H. had discovered at this time some rare carvings and shrines on the slopes of the hills here facing the Svarṇamukhī river.

I attended the Sadas along with Dr. D. H. Smith of Syracuse University.

17-9-1966 Inaugurated the Session of the Viśva Hindu Pariṣad.

19-9-1966 Celebrated *Śārada Navarātri* at Guḍiwāḍa.

October, 1966	H.H. went to Masulipatnam and stayed at Sānga Veda Vidyālaya. The Journal *Kāmakoṭi Vāṇī* inaugurated.
5-10-1966 to 8-10-1966	IIIrd All-India *Vedic Sammelan* at H.H.'s instance at Tirumala Hills, Tirupati. H.H. Sri Jayendra Sarasvati presided; 650 Vedic Pandits and 194 boy students from all over India attended.
15-10-1966 to 22-10-1966	*Śārada Navarātri* at Tiruccāṇūr, near Tirupati.
23-11-1966	Consecration at H.H.'s instance of marble figures of 'Gītopadeśa' and Śankara and his four disciples at Kurukṣetra.
27-11-1966	The Chief Minister of Haryana participated in the above celebrations.
28-11-1966	H.H. gave as his blessing a gold pot weighing 265 grams with honey for the recovery of the Jawans wounded in the Indo-Pakistan war.
1, 2-12-1966	Maṭh Heads' Conference at Kālahasti (All India *Dharmapīṭha Samudāya Sangam* Anniversary).
4-12-1966	Royal visitors from Greece called on H.H.
25-12-1966	H.H.'s camp at Repallee; two Swiss Doctors called on H.H.
12- 2-1967	The Veda Bhavan, started at H.H.'s instance at 50, Lake Avenue, Calcutta, was inaugurated by the Journalist Tushar Kanti Ghosh; Sri Giridharlal Mehta presided and Justice Rama Prasad Mukherji spoke. *Kauthuma Sāma Veda* is being taught here.
13-2-1967	Diamond Jubilee of H.H.'s ascension to the Pīṭha, celebrated in Śrīśailam, at H.H.'s camp where he completed 60 years as Acharya on the Pīṭha.
15-2-1967 to 20-2-1967	*Śatacaṇḍī-homa* in H.H.'s presence at Mahānandi, Kurnool District.
28-2-1967	Diamond Jubilee of H.H. celebrated at Ranade Hall, Mylapore, Madras. U.S. Consul at Madras, Mr. A. B. Franklin spoke.
March, 1967	H.H. visited Ahobilam, Mahānandi and Śrīśailam.
8-3-1967	H.H. arrived at the famous sacred mountain shrine of Mallikārjuna and Bhramarāmbikā at Śrīśailam.
9-3-1967	*Śivarātri* at Śrīśailam.
22-3-1967	Consecration of the pavilion of Śaṅkara with his four pupils in marble at Śrīśailam.
10-4-1967	Visited Guntur.



The Gītopadeśa representation in marble set up in Kurukṣetra at the instance of H.H.
Consecrated on 23-11-1966

4-5-1967 — H.H. reached Vijayawada in his tour of Andhra; A.P. Ministers and citizens welcomed H.H.

Śankara Jayantī was performed there.

A gem-set *Kirīṭa* (Crown) was offered to H.H. The Health Minister of Andhra, Sri Narasimha Rao and Pt. Mandalika Venkata Sastri participated in the function.

14-5-1967 — Marble images of Śaṅkara and his four disciples set up at Lakshmanjula at the instance of H.H. opened.

21-7-1967 — Reached Rajahmundry for the Godāvarī Pushkaram; *Cāturmāsya* at Rajahmundry.

29-8-1967 to 2-9-1967 — Diamond Jubilee of H.H.'s ascension to the Pīṭha continued to be celebrated at different places.

Public meeting at R.R. Sabha premises, Mylapore, Madras-4 with Justice Rama Prasad Mukherji presiding.

2-9-1967 to 7-9-1967 — *Āgama Śilpa Sadas* in H.H.'s Camp at Rajahmundry.

13-11-1967 — Arrived at Kollur, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.

22-11-1967 — The large volume of nearly 1000 pages, giving the entire song-material of the traditional *Bhajana-paddhati*, called *Bhajana-ratnākara*, compiled by Sri Anantānandendra Sarasvatī (Śrī Āñjaneyar) was released by H.H. here. The second edition of the book has appeared recently.

14-2-1968 — During the tour of Andhra, when H.H. was in Ēlūru, the great *Mahāmaham* festival came on in Kumbakonam. The holy water of the Mahāmaham Tank in Kumbhakonam was brought in a pot by the *Hindu* Office Dakota plane and poured into the Kṛṣṇā-river canal for H.H's bath.

10-3-1968 to 15-3-1968 — H.H. arrived at Bhadrācala and participated in *Kumbhābhiṣeka* of the famous Rāma temple built there by Bhakta Rāmadās and renovated under the guidance of H.H.

7-4-1968 — H.H. arrived at Kammam and celebrated *Vasanta Navarātri* there. Then proceeded to Nallakoṇḍapalli, the birth-place of Bhakta Rāmadās.

25-4-1968 — H.H. arrived at Secunderabad and was received by the Hon. Sri Brahmananda Reddi, Chief Minister of A.P.

28-4-1968 to 2-5-1968 — H.H. celebrated *Śaṅkara Jayantī* at his camp in Padma Rao Nagar in Secunderabad.

6-5-1968 — Public Address presented to H.H. at the Secunderabad camp.

13-5-1968 — 75th Birth-day of H.H. celebrated there.

16-5-1968 — H.H. consecrated the Rāma Temple at Sitaphal Mandi in Hyderabad.

20-8-1968 – 2-9-1968 — *VIIth Āgama Śilpa Sadas* at H.H.'s camp at Secunderabad. The Governor of Andhra Pradesh, Sri Khandu Bhai Desai inaugurated.

22-9-1968 — Inauguration of 'Gītā-raṅga' for propagation of the Gītā, at Kurukṣetra. Sri G. L. Nanda participated.

11-10-1968 – 14-10-1968 — IVth All-India *Sarvaśākhā Vedic Sammelan* at H.H.'s camp at Vijayawada, during the Krishna Puṣkaram festival. Rajaguru Vamadeva muni of Bangkok, Thailand, was present.

The Maharaja of Mysore and Queen Mother had darśan of H.H.

29-12-1968 — Inauguration at Triveni, Allahabad of the marble shrine of Ādi Śankara and his pupils, by Lt. Gov. Adityanath Jha.

10-1-1969 — At Elūru; golden *Rudrākṣra Kirīṭa* costing Rs. 40,000 offered to H. H.

1-4-1969 — H.H. reached Tirupati and was accorded a reception with temple honours on the Hills. H.H. stayed on at Tirupati.

22-4-1969 — Marble images of Śankara and four pupils installed on the south bank of the Bunder canal of the Krishna river in Vijayawada.

H.H. went to Masulipatnam and stayed at Sāṅga Veda Vidyālaya-Gāyatrī Vidyā Pīṭha.

2-5-1969 — Inaugurated the *Hindu Dharma Pratiṣṭhāna* in Tirupati.

9-5-1969 to 14-5-1969 — Conducted *Brahmotsava* for Śrī Venkaṭeśvara.

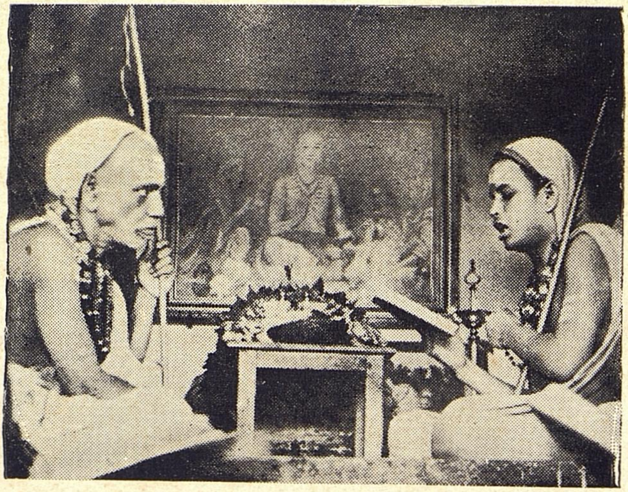
24-5-1969 — H.H. returned to Kāñcī after 4 years of tour in Andhra.

28-7-1969 — *Vyāsapūjā* at Kāñcī.

Aug. 1969 — A booklet containing the gist of the *Gītā* was given to all the graduates at the Convocation of the University of Madras, at the instance of H.H.

21-9-1969 to 24-9-1969 — VIIIth *Āgama Śilpa Sadas* at Kāñcī.

6-2-1970 — Vice-President Sri G.S. Pathak called on H.H. at Kāñcī and offered a shawl.



H. H. and his Successor-Periyavāl
and Pudu-p-Periyavāl

21-6-1970 Gem-set *Kavaca* for the *Kuñcitāṅghri* of Lord Naṭarāja at Cidambaram, as conceived by H.H. and costing over two lakhs of rupees, was offered by H.H., the Junior Swamigal.

30-6-1970 Gold *Pādukās* set up at the Bangāru Kāmākṣī shrine in the Kāmākṣī temple at Kāñcī.

5-7-1970 *Kumbhābhiṣeka* of Śrī Akhilāṇḍeśvarī temple at Jambukeśvaram, with the Junior Swamigal participating personally.

On his way back, he offered gem-set 'Abhaya-hasta' for Lord Naṭarāja at Cidambaram.

30-8-1970 President V.V. Giri and family paid respects to H.H. at Vyāsa-śāntāśrama shrine at Kāñcī.

Mr. Basant Rai, Minister of Mauritius, met H.H. at the same place.

31-8-1970 The Maharaja of Mysore had darśan of H.H.

6-9-1970 to 9-9-1970 IXth *Āgama Śilpa Sadas* at Kāñcī.

1-11-1972 In the morning, a golden parrot in about 41 sovereigns offered by H.H. to Goddess Kāmākṣī at Kāñcī.

In the evening the new door made with 27 special bells, at the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of Śrī Kāmākṣī was declared open by H.H.